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ISSUES FACING GEORGIA

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GEORGIA'S CHANGING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by
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INTRODUCTION

The decades of the seventies and eighties brought prosperity and people to Georgia. Before World War II thousands left Georgia and other Southern states seeking economic and social opportunities. After the war, however, a complex set of interrelated factors began to transform the South from a traditional, rural-dominated society into a highly urbanized area with growing economic and political potential.

Among the factors contributing to the postwar movement of Georgia and the South into the mainstream national social and economic arena were the following:

1. Improvements in transportation and communications increased residential and commercial development in both rural areas and cities. Interstate highways, connecting with a network of good state roads, permitted people to live in uncrowded areas with easy access to urban shopping, cultural and recreational centers. Expanded airline service and better airports provided access to the nation and to the world. No longer isolated, the South, with Atlanta as a leader, joined the nation in an economic surge.[1]

2. Industries searching for business-oriented environments with willing, labor began to view Southern cities and rural areas as attractive plant sites. New manufacturing plants provided a base for further economic expansion.[2]

3. The agricultural economy, though it used no more land and increasingly less labor, also expanded and at times its products commanded near record prices. Agribusiness and other rural businesses responded with further economic growth.[3]

4. The elderly population continued to expand. Social security and other retirement benefits made it possible for retirees to consider moving to areas which offered a high quality of life at reasonable cost. Beginning in the late 1960s, large numbers of retirees moved into the South, where they created job opportunities for younger workers and revitalized stagnant areas. In addition to enlarging local markets, the retirees themselves created new businesses, expanded the local culture, and helped end the sense of isolation that had previously prevailed.[4]

5. Upgraded public schools and expanded universities attracted new residents and created a favorable climate for new business. Research firms moved in to be close to the improved universities, and technologically-oriented industries and businesses followed.[5]

6. Rising personal income brought about improvements in the quality of consumer services and fueled the growth of service and retail sectors.[6]

7. Lower costs of living, land prices, and tax rates made living in the South attractive to a wide range of income groups. Of special importance was the in-migration of young professional people, often couples, who, on the same or lower salaries, could live much better than in other sections of the country.[7]

8. Pro-growth attitudes and industrial recruitment activities by state and local governments, chambers of commerce, and other agencies promoted the positive changes that were occurring.[8]

9. The Southern climate was more attractive as air conditioning became nearly universal. The South also became especially appealing to Northerners accustomed to harsh winters as two of the coldest winters on record occurred in the early 1970s.[9]

10. Changing racial attitudes made the South more attractive to new migrants and business. Integrated schools and the greater participation of blacks in all areas of the economy stemmed the outflow of black Southerners and resulted in the net in-migration of blacks to many areas. Greater opportunities improved black income and increased local spending and investment.[10]

11. In the late 1960s an anti-urban bias marked by garbage strikes, pollution, traffic congestion, racial unrest, high crime rates and a "small is beautiful" philosophy began to surface across the nation. Both the young and old began to think of new life styles. Many rural areas and smaller Southern cities were perceived as attractive places to live and work.[11]

12. Congestion, crime, labor unrest and high land costs, plus a variety of other problems in the industrial cities of the North and Midwest resulted in a movement of business and industry from large to smaller metropolitan areas. Those with good transportation and communication were especially favored and a number of these, like Atlanta, were located in the South.[12]

Unfortunately for the South, several of the factors responsible for its growth in the late 1960s and 1970s have changed, somewhat abruptly. The economic and social situations of the 1980s are very different, and the new changes are by no means as favorable to the South as those of the postwar period. Critical to policy makers' decisions are the recent changes that have contributed to yet another reversal of trends. They include:

1. The agricultural sector experienced a series of natural and manmade setbacks involving drought, foreign competition, grain embargoes and over production. The lack of a comprehensive, national agricultural policy also contributed to these problems. On the farm and in small rural communities, the difficulties were intense.[13]

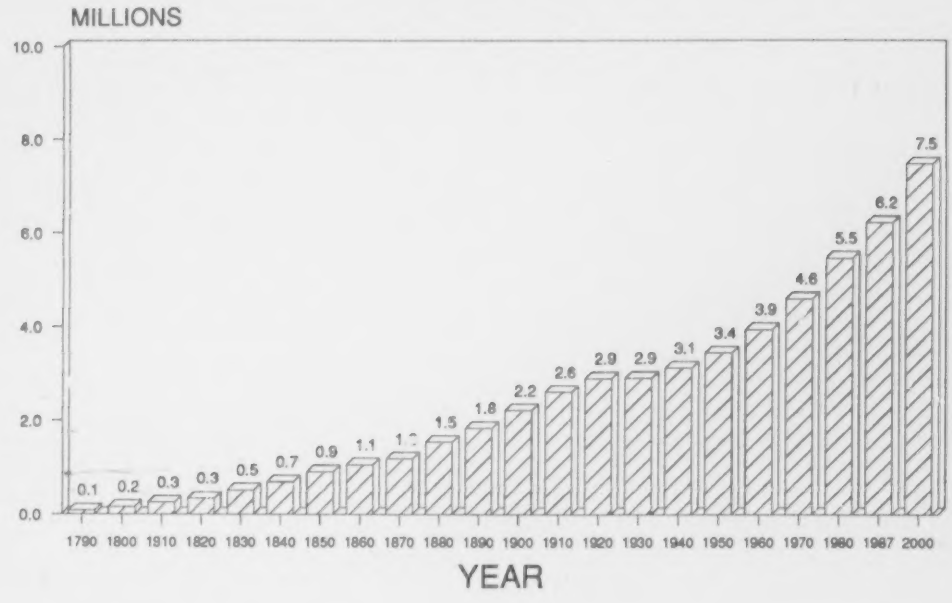
2. The shift of manufacturing activity overseas resulted in a decline of rural industrial development. Long-established jobs were lost, and new employment opportunities decreased.[14]

3. Foreign competition especially affected the Southern textile industry. The resulting plant closings, layoffs and slowdowns adversely affected rural economies traditionally dependent on this sector.[15]

4. American cities were once again viewed as desirable places to live. Government responded with tax incentives and urban homesteads became popular.[16]

Conditions prevailing from the end of World War II into the middle 1970s made it possible for the South to experience considerable economic growth with relatively little action on the part of state and local decision makers. Now, the situation has changed again and we must assess the past and present before we can plan for the future. One aspect of the change is that an increasing number of Southern metropolitan centers like Charlotte, North Carolina, and Memphis, Tennessee, compete with Atlanta for trade and industry. This report presents a comprehensive picture of Georgia's changing demographic, educational, economic and social history to aid the efforts of state and local planners.

TOTAL POPULATION: 1790-2000
GEORGIA



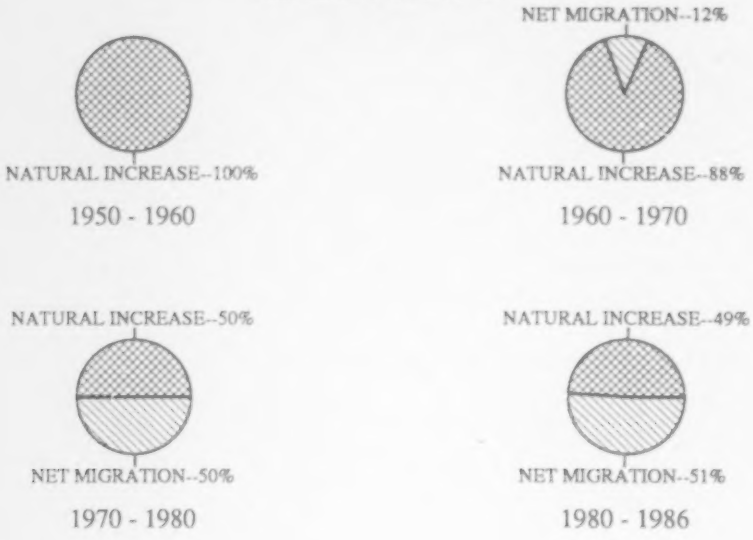
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Population Characteristics: 1940 - 1980**; **Provisional Population Estimates: 1987**; and, Georgia Office of Planning and Budget, **Resident Population Projections, 2000: 1987**.

From 1790 until 1830 the population of Georgia grew quite rapidly as new lands were settled. In 1900 there were less than two and one half million people in the state. It hardly grew from 1920 to 1940, but doubled from 1940 to 1987. Currently with 6.2 million people, Georgia is the 11th most populous state in the nation.

From 1980 to 1987, Georgia was also the 11th fastest growing state in the nation. Census projections indicate a 23 percent increase in the state's population from 1987 to the turn of the century. The projections reveal that in the year 2000 Georgia's population will exceed 7.5 million. If present trends continue, growth will be concentrated in metropolitan areas where rapid increases have already occurred.[17]

Georgia's population will continue to increase but at a lesser rate. Growth will create problems because of its concentration in the suburbs of major cities. Traffic congestion, increased demand for services and political conflicts will accompany this rapid growth. Fortunately, population growth also creates jobs which in turn produce a larger tax base with which to finance expanded services.

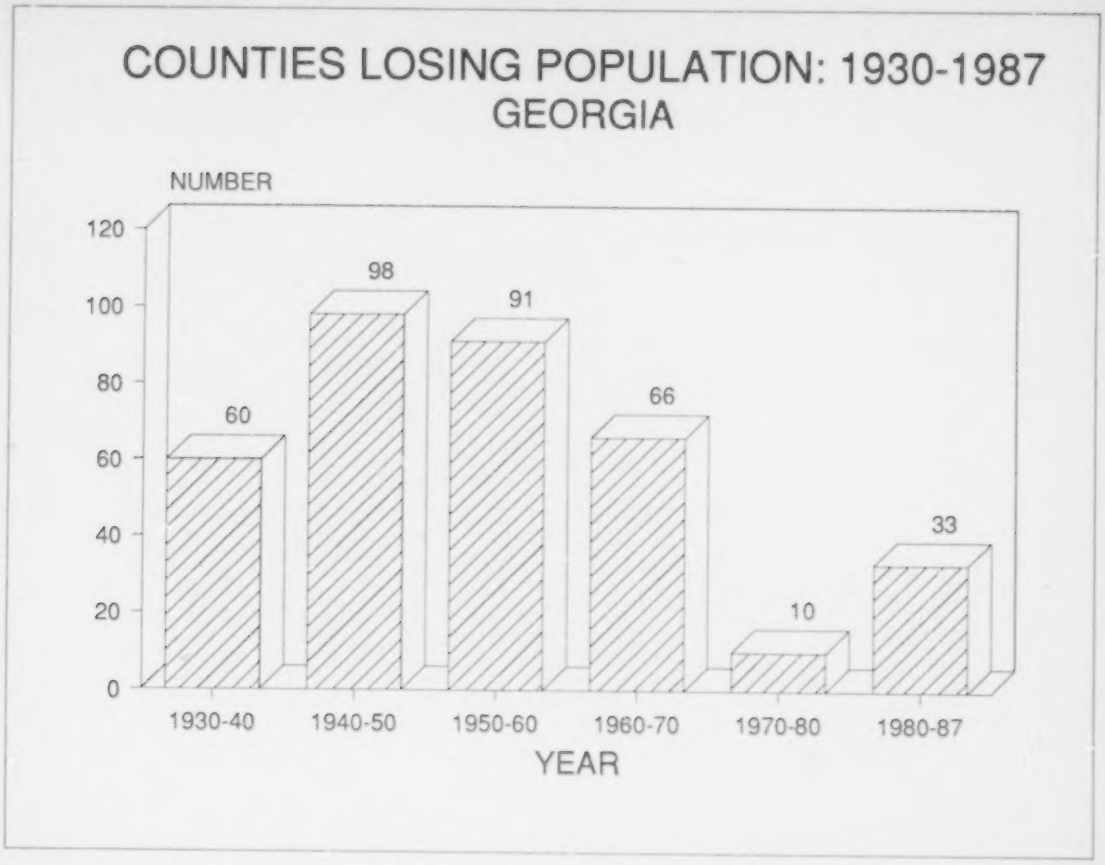
COMPONENTS OF CHANGE
GEORGIA



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Population Characteristics: 1950 - 1980**; and Georgia Department of Human Resources, Vital Records and Health Statistics Unit, **Georgia Vital Statistics Report: 1986**.

Population changes in three ways: people are born, they die, or they move. Historically, Georgia's population has grown by an excess of births over deaths; that is, by natural increase. Until 1960 natural increase accounted for virtually all of Georgia's growth. Migrants represented only 12 percent of the state's growth during the 1960s, but since the middle 1970s Georgia's population growth has been driven by in-migration. In the 1970s net migration accounted for 50 percent of the state's growth and in the first half of the 1980s for 51 percent.

New people moving into a community create problems for decision makers who must provide services to both new and long-term residents. New residents frequently have different attitudes, values, and beliefs from local people, and these differences may lead to conflict. Growth through in-migration, however, can bring new capital and opportunities to an otherwise stagnant or declining area. New residents create jobs in the host community by their very presence. Gas stations, dry cleaners, restaurants, grocery stores and the entire service economy, benefit from the influx of new residents. Anticipating and reacting to growth requires time, effort and planning. Unfortunately, the needed planning skills are not always present, and local politicians are often reluctant to introduce needed changes.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Population Characteristics: 1930 - 1980**; and **Provisional Population Estimates: 1987**.

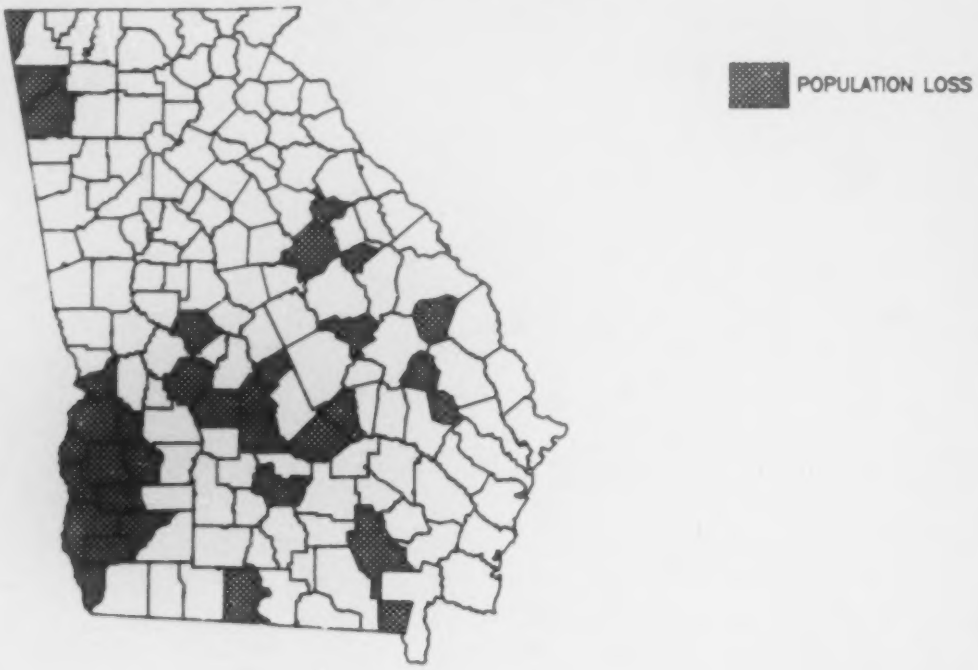
Uneven population growth is not a new phenomenon in Georgia. The previous pattern was growth for the state as a whole, but with a considerable number of counties losing population.

Though the state grew by ten percent from 1940 to 1950, 98 counties lost population. The same pattern persisted until the 1970s when only ten counties lost population. The prevailing pattern was interrupted because the agriculture-based rural economy was booming. At the same time, manufacturing jobs expanded into rural areas. Consequently, the out-migration of young people was reduced, and a relatively large number of people 65 years and older were drawn to rural areas where living conditions had improved. The retirees created additional jobs, thus helping to attract other new residents.

The old pattern of rural population loss has reasserted itself. Though Georgia was the 11th fastest growing state in the nation between 1980 and 1987, 33 Georgia counties lost population. The trends that created rural population growth during the decade of the 1970s suddenly reversed themselves during the first half of the 1980s. Population loss follows economic decline and the loss of population produces further economic decline.

Counties losing population face major problems in providing fundamental public services such as education and health care as the tax base shrinks. When these services are poor, it is difficult to hold young people and nearly impossible to attract new industries.

COUNTIES LOSING POPULATION
1980 – 1987



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Population Characteristics: 1980**; and **Provisional Population Estimates: 1987**.

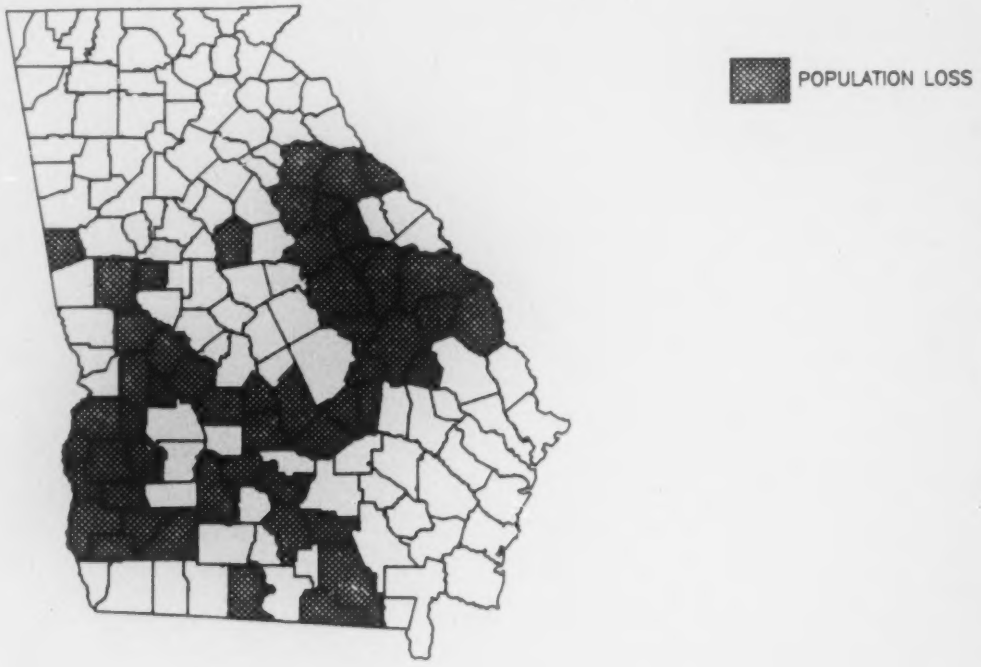
From 1980 to 1987, 33 counties lost population. Counties losing population have several characteristics in common. They are primarily located in the southern half of the state, and their economies tend to be dependent on agriculture or textiles. The North Georgia counties losing population are also heavily dependent on the textile industry. For both areas the rise of foreign competition highlights the problems of dependence on a single industry.

The lack of economic diversification creates major problems for small scale economies. When the major employer suffers a slowdown or setback, acceptable alternatives are few, and people are forced to leave.

The long term situation in rural Georgia remains problematic. In a majority of the loss counties a high proportion (20 percent or more) of the work force is employed by state and local government. With the trend toward reduced governmental spending and consolidation of services, a large portion of the governmental work force may face cutbacks and possible elimination.

In general, loss counties have lower levels of income and education. Jobs are scarce, and many people live below the poverty line.

COUNTIES LOSING POPULATION
1930 – 1987

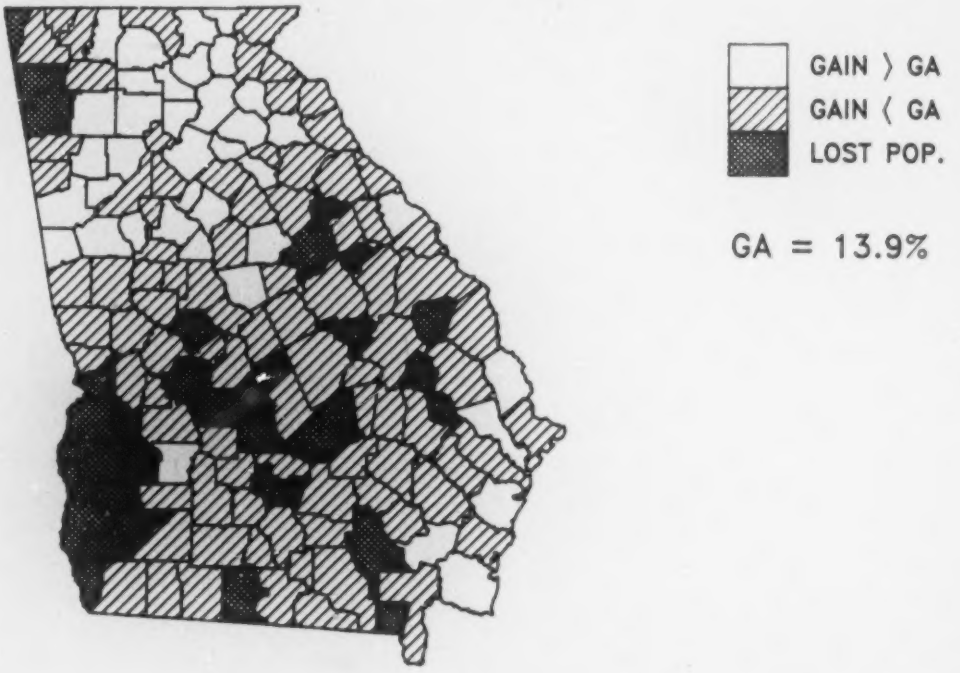


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Population Characteristics: 1930**; and **Provisional Population Estimates: 1987**.

From 1930 to 1987 Georgia's total population grew by 114 percent, yet 52 counties lost population during the same time period. One out of three counties had more people living in them in 1930 than today. As agriculture became increasingly mechanized, the need for rural labor decreased. Without adequate job opportunities, younger workers migrated to the cities. The trend in Georgia has been repeated across rural America.[18]

The situation depicted in this map is important to understanding Georgia's current developmental problems. Contemporary social and economic problems have their origins deeply rooted in the past. Solving these problems will not be achieved by short-term, quick-fix solutions; they will require considerable planning and sustained effort by local and state authorities.

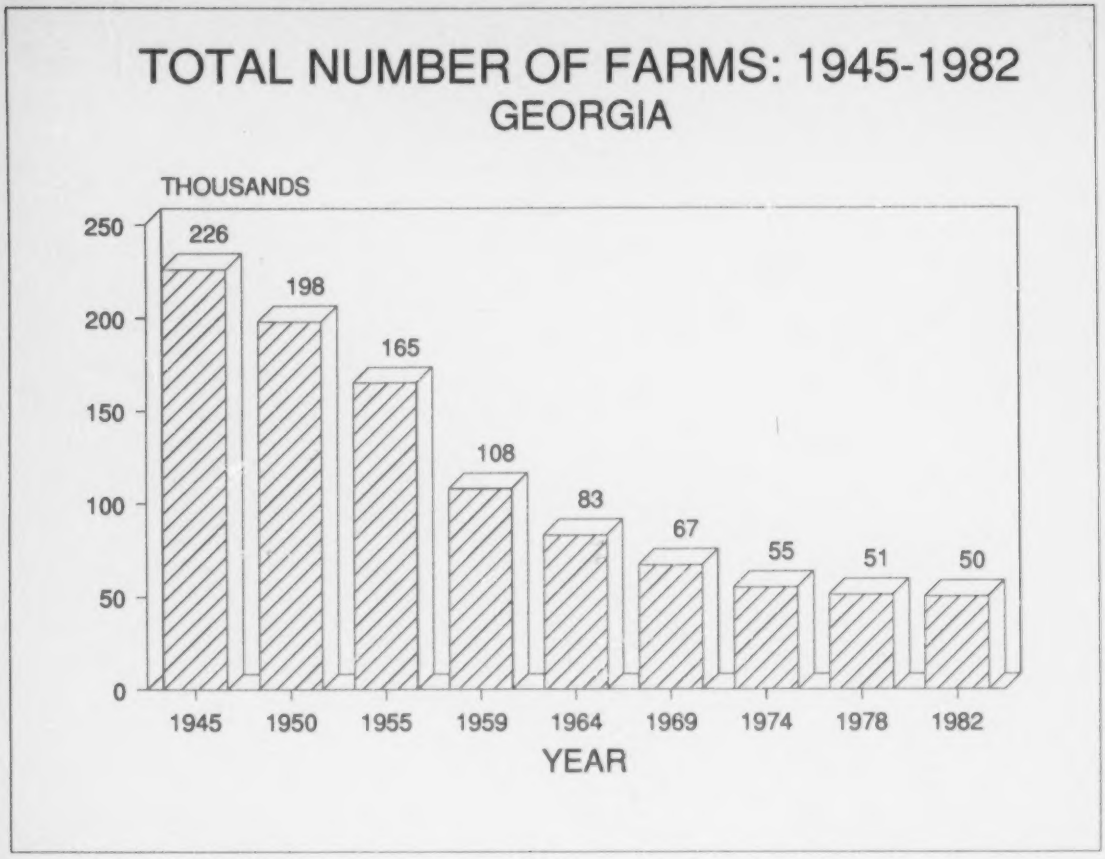
CHANGE IN POPULATION
1980 – 1987



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Population Characteristics: 1980**; and **Provisional Population Estimates: 1987**.

Three categories of counties are presented in this map. The 33 counties losing population are shown in black, those growing at less than the state average are cross-hatched, and ones which grew by more than the state average are blank. Most of the counties growing at more than the state average are in North Georgia. They reflect the dynamic, vibrant economy that exists in and around Atlanta. Northeast mountain counties have grown because they have attracted retirees whose presence creates additional growth from an emerging service-centered economy. The fast growing counties in South Georgia are either urban or military centers.

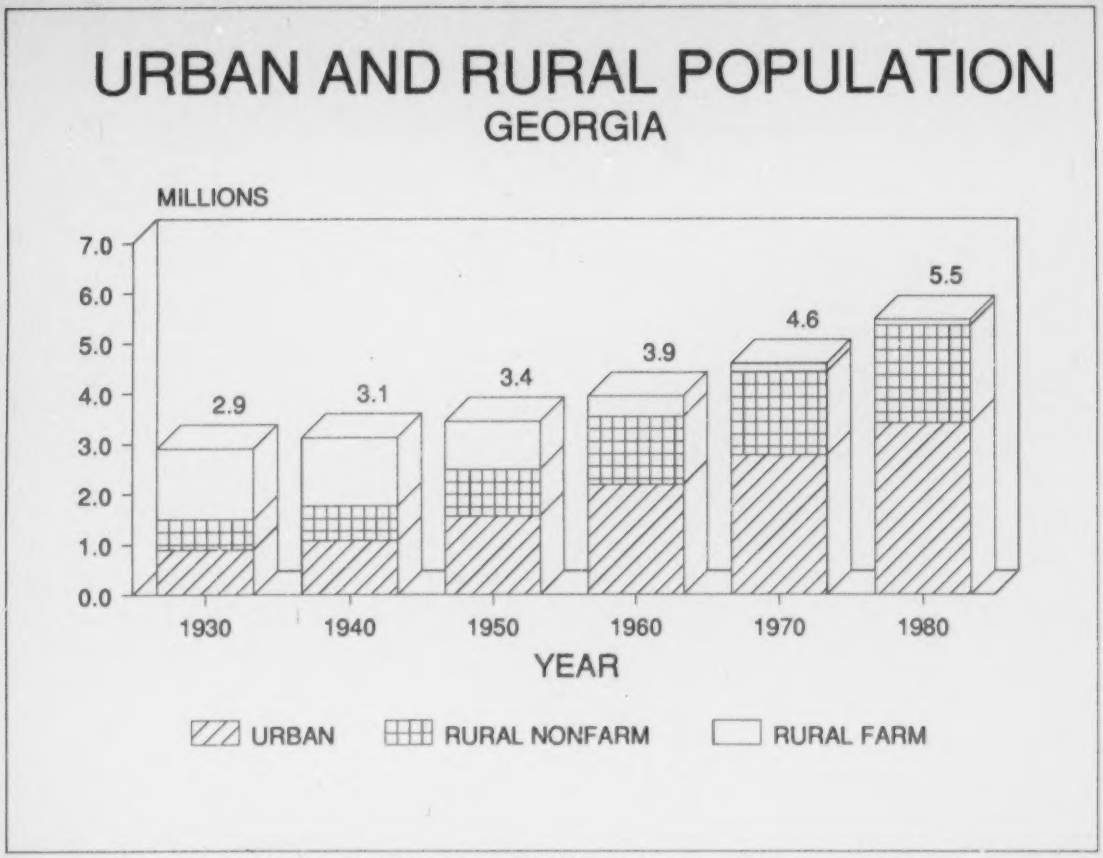
Counties that are not losing population but are growing by less than the state average gain mostly through natural increase. These areas are able to retain many of their young people. Unfortunately, they have not attracted appreciable numbers of new residents because their economies are not expanding enough to attract in-migrants.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **Censuses of Agriculture: 1945 - 1982.**

The number of farms in Georgia has fallen sharply, but the average size of farms has increased from 105 to 248 acres.[19] Increased mechanization, improved cultural practices and new crop varieties permit fewer and fewer farmers to produce even greater yields. Mechanization reduced the need for farm laborers, hastening the exodus from rural areas. Similar changes have occurred across the nation.

The decline in farms is a fundamental problem for rural decision makers because it signals the loss of jobs and population. This in turn affects the businesses that cater to farmers and their families. The loss of rural farm customers is especially severe for small businesses which are dependent on agriculture or agribusiness. A serious consequence of the depressed agricultural economy is a decreased tax base, a situation particularly critical in areas where funding for education is already low.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics: 1930 - 1980.**

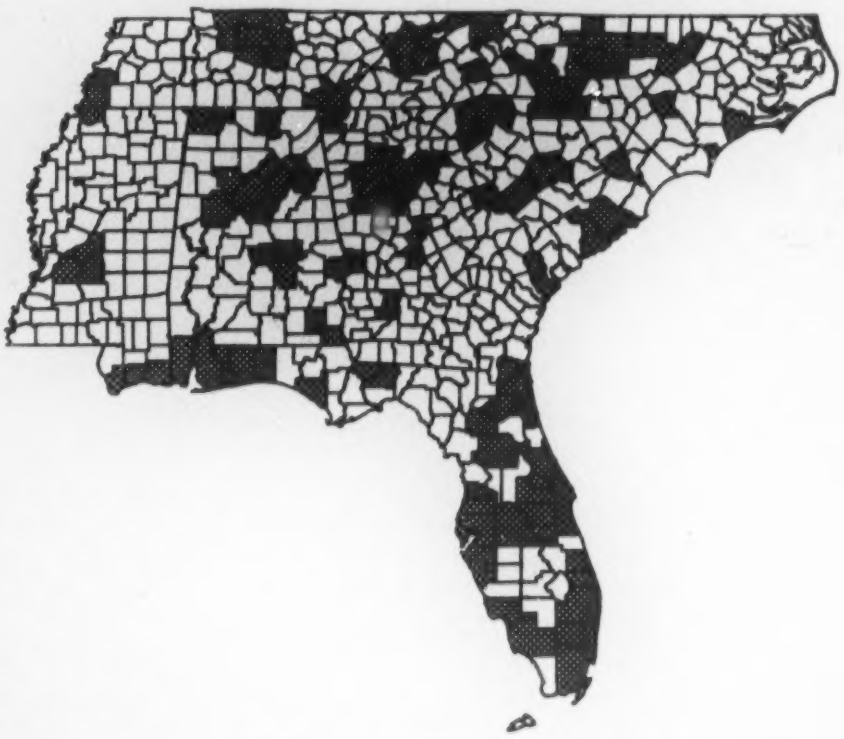
Georgia's rural farm population fell from about 1.4 million in 1930 to 121,000 in 1980.[20] Except for the 1930s and the 1970s, predominantly rural counties either lost population or experienced very slow growth, contributing little to the state's overall growth. At the same time Georgia's urban population grew dramatically.[21] In 1930, counties then designated as metropolitan included 41 percent of the state's population. By 1980 the proportion had grown to over 60 percent. This imbalance has created problems for both sectors of the population.

As people leave rural Georgia for metropolitan centers in search of work, they often find that their education and job skills are not comparable to those of their urban counterparts. Migration into metropolitan areas strains urban decision makers as they respond to growth and increased demand for services. Rural migrants are sometimes unable to make the necessary adjustments to the new environment and many require public assistance.

If the current depression in agriculture and boom in high technology and service industries continue, growth will concentrate even more heavily in the metropolitan areas. Growth in the rural non-farm population has also occurred with improvements in transportation and the ever-widening urban encroachment on rural areas. With increasing numbers of people living in these areas, the need for comprehensive land use planning becomes critical because vast quantities of water are consumed by urban residents and industries. Commercial and residential encroachment along Georgia's natural water sheds may have to be limited if adequate water resources for continued population and economic expansion are to be maintained.

Rural areas also face problems which will require an increased commitment by state and local decision makers. The loss of the farm population reduces rural tax bases and hastens economic decline.

METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS



SOURCE: U.S. Office of Management and Budget, **Release OMB-83-20: June 30, 1983.**

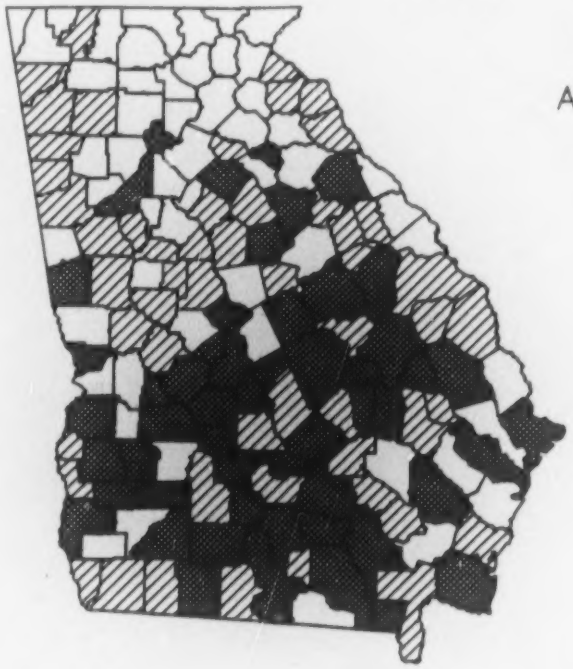
Thirty-eight of Georgia's 159 counties are included in eight metropolitan areas. In North Georgia the Atlanta Metropolitan Area is now joined with the Athens Metropolitan Area to form a block which includes a large part of North Georgia. Three of the metropolitan areas in Georgia cross state lines. The Columbus Metropolitan Area extends into Alabama and the Augusta Metropolitan Area into South Carolina. In the northwest the Chattanooga Metropolitan area extends southward to include three Georgia Counties (Dade, Catoosa and Walker).

The amassing of metropolitan areas will doubtless continue. The movement of only one other county into the metropolitan classification will make the Atlanta Metropolitan Area contiguous with the Macon Metropolitan Area and one other added to the north will make it join the Chattanooga Metropolitan Area.

The Atlanta Metropolitan Area is not only spreading into adjoining metropolitan areas and encompassing a huge block of Georgia into one consolidated area, but is also becoming the central part of a interstate block which will extend into Tennessee and Alabama. With the addition of only one other county the Atlanta-Athens-Chattanooga Area will become contiguous with the Greenville-Spartanburg Area of South Carolina and one other will make it contiguous with the Birmingham-Anniston Area. Augusta is already joined with metropolitan counties that reach across much of South Carolina.

In the not too distant future a huge consolidated metropolitan area will extend eastward from Atlanta across the Piedmont through the Carolinas into Virginia. Atlanta will also be the southern anchor of a block of metropolitan counties that will extend into the Shenandoah Valley. The metropolitanization of the Southeast is well under way.

POPULATION LIVING INSIDE MUNICIPALITIES
1986

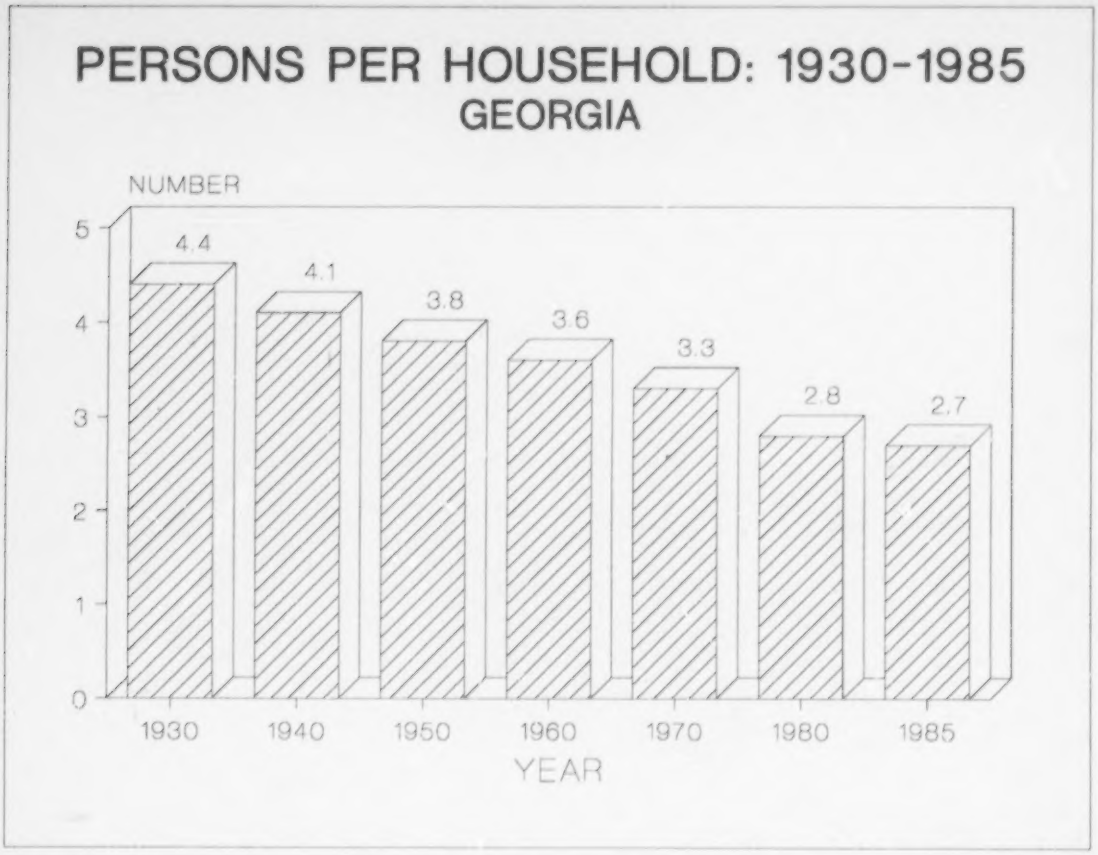


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **Provisional Population Estimates: 1986**.

A municipality is a city or town which operates under a charter of incorporation granted by the legislature. The city or town may be of any size, but since 1963 at least 200 people are required for incorporation.[22] Georgia had 533 municipalities in 1986. Over 43 percent of the state's population lives within municipalities, a majority of which have fewer than 1,000 people. Three-quarters of Georgia's municipalities are located outside metropolitan areas.

Counties in the Southern half of the state tend to have large proportions of their population living within municipal boundaries. This pattern stands in marked contrast to the situation in the Northern section of the state. Here the population tends to be concentrated in unincorporated, suburbanized areas outside the cities.

Georgia's large suburban population residing in unincorporated areas signals an expanding role for county government. To meet the needs of this increasing population more services must be provided. Rapid growth requires the immediate extension of roads and raises the demand for public transportation, utilities, and educational facilities. Such demands cannot always be met with current types or levels of taxation.



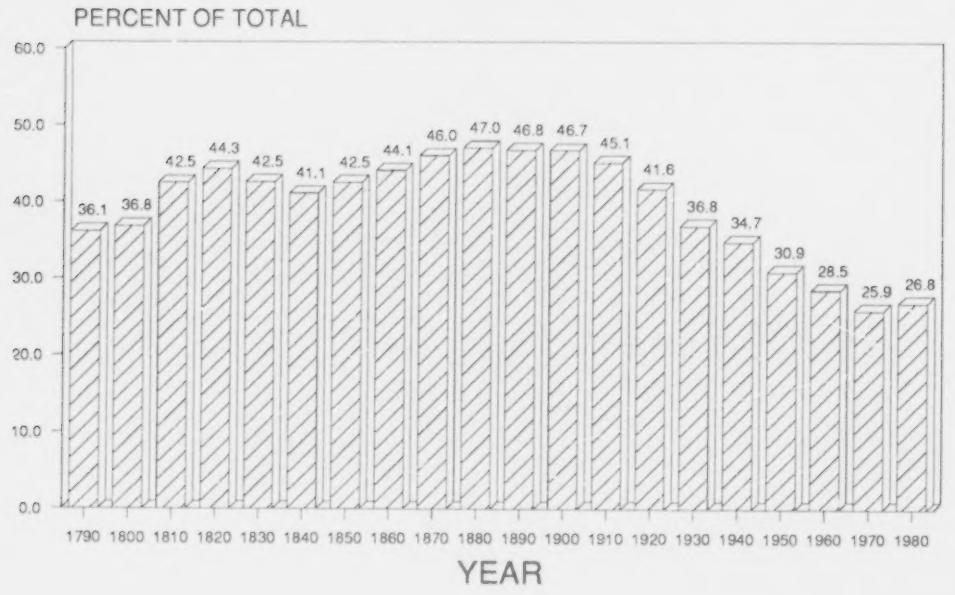
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics: 1930 - 1980**; and **Estimates of Households for Counties, July 1, 1985.**

In 1930 the average size of households was four persons, but by 1985 it had fallen to 2.8, a decline of 39 percent. The largest change occurred during the 1970s when the average fell from 3.3 to 2.8. The Georgia trend echoed a pattern of decline that began nationally as the "baby boom" ended.[23]

The change has been caused by declining birth rates, increased divorce rates, fatherless families, and the growth in the number of households headed by older persons. A relatively large number of young adults are also delaying marriage and forming their own one or two-person households.

Household size has declined, yet the number of households has grown dramatically. Although the population grew by only 52 percent between 1960 and 1985, the number of households increased by 99 percent. The increased number of households has brought about the growth of both retail and service sectors because of the goods and services required by the expanded numbers of new households.

BLACK POPULATION: 1790-1980
GEORGIA

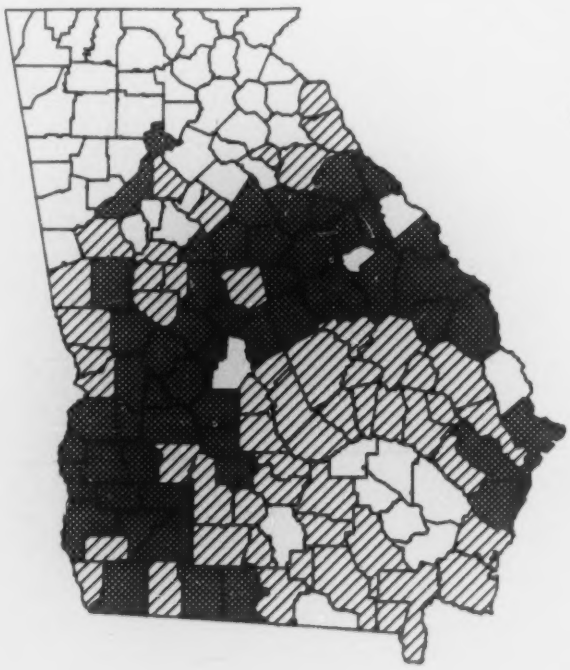


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970**; and **General Population Characteristics: 1980**.

Georgia ranks fifth in the nation in the largest number and fourth in the highest percentage of blacks. In 1880 blacks constituted 47 percent of the state's population. However, that percentage fell consistently for 90 years. Not until the 1970s did the proportion of blacks increase, and then by only one percentage point.

This slight but significant increase occurred because more black Georgians chose to stay in the state. Social equality and the availability of jobs have improved in recent years. Currently, 51 percent of Georgia's black population lives in six counties — Fulton, DeKalb, Bibb, Muscogee, Chatham and Richmond. Blacks who stay in Georgia are moving to urban areas where entry level jobs are relatively plentiful. Although these jobs offer few opportunities for building a career, they provide advancement for the poorly educated.

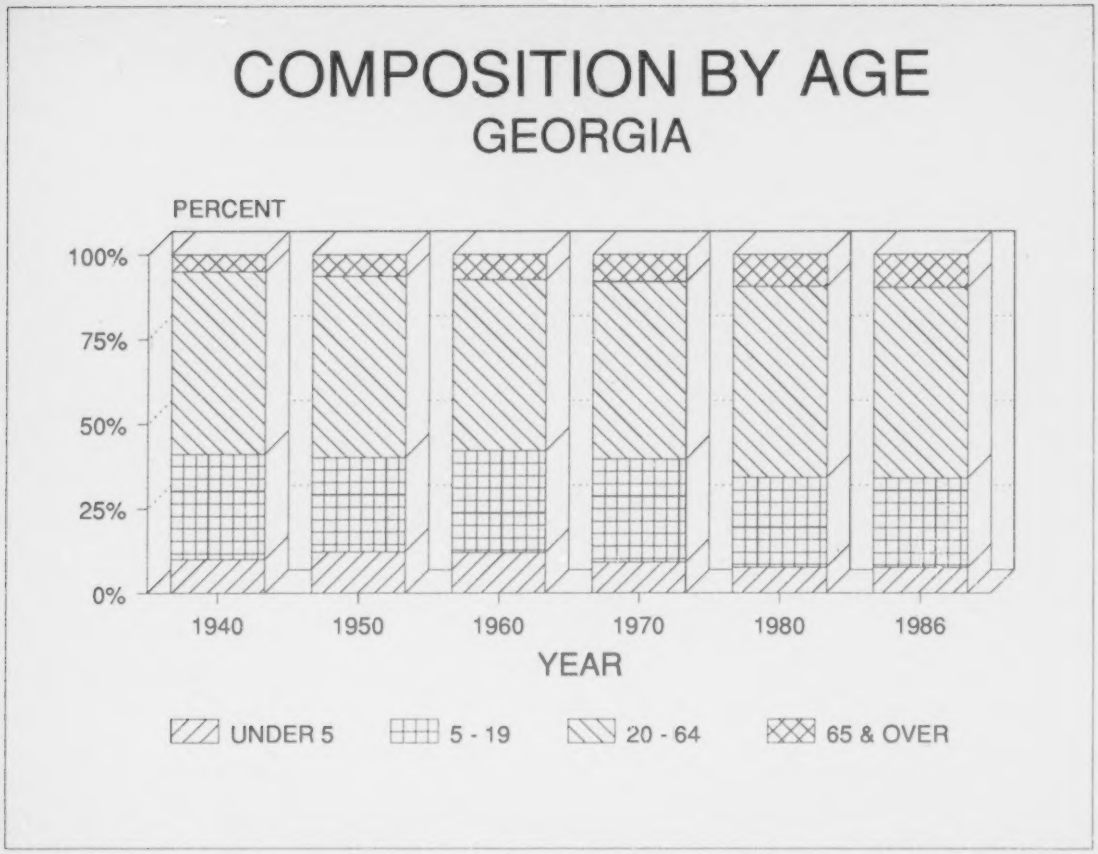
BLACK POPULATION: 1980



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980**.

Counties with high percentages of blacks are primarily located in the southern half of the state. The one exception is Fulton County. Formerly areas with high concentrations of blacks were largely dependent on plantation agriculture. Since North Georgia was characterized by subsistence agriculture it had few black laborers. Like other mountainous areas of the Southeast, North Georgia never had large numbers of black residents.

The low percentage of black Georgians in Southeast Georgia is also related to topography. This area contains vast stretches of pine forests and the northern fringe of the Okefenokee Swamp. Consequently, black laborers were never abundant. This area still offers limited employment opportunities.



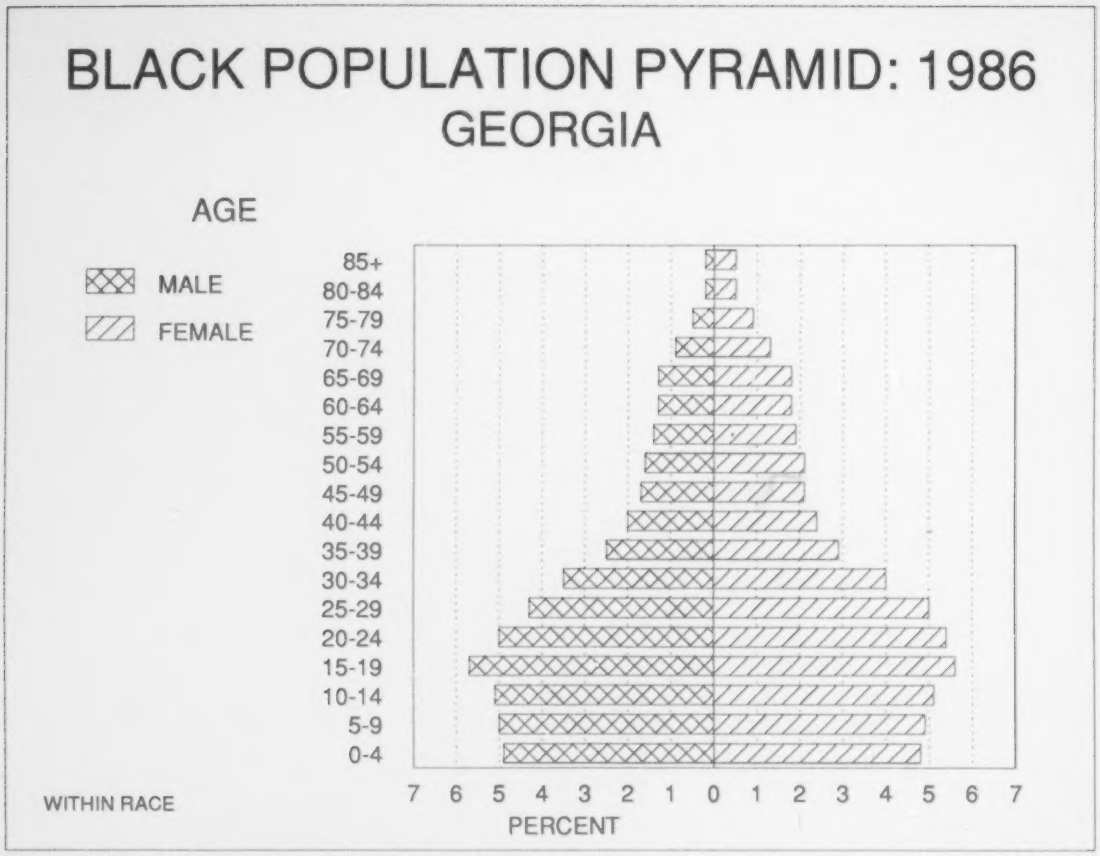
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Population Characteristics: 1940 - 1980**; and Georgia Department of Human Resources, Vital Records and Health Statistics Unit, **Georgia Vital Statistics Report: 1986**.

In 1940, ten percent of the state's population were under five years of age and only five percent were 65 or older. By 1986 the percentage of the population under five had declined to eight percent, while the percentage 65 and over had increased to ten percent.

Despite the aging of the population, Georgians are young compared to people in other states and the nation. The median age in Georgia in 1980 was 28.6 compared to 30.0 years for the United States. Georgia's population is younger because black Georgians, who make up more than a quarter of the state's population, are younger than whites. The median age for whites in Georgia is 34, while the median age of blacks is 24.

The increase in the older population and decrease in the younger population directly affects the social and economic structure of the state and the composition of the labor force. Older people have different needs from the rest of the population and may have left the labor force.

Still, older residents have considerable political power. They are much more likely to vote than young people, and are more concerned with "pocket book" issues.[24] They usually live on fixed incomes and may oppose school bond referendums or the construction of public facilities for which they have no immediate need. The decreasing number of young people signals the beginning of labor shortages that will significantly affect business in the near future.

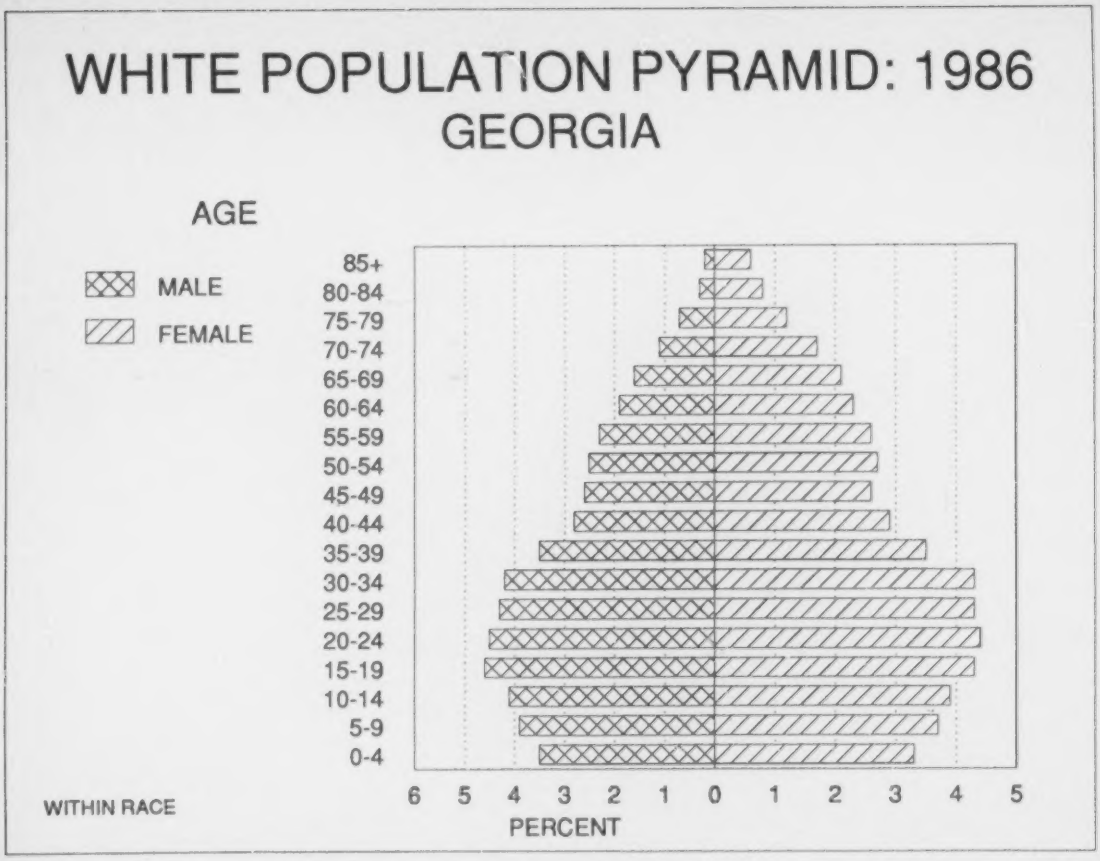


SOURCE: Georgia Department of Human Resources, Vital Records and Health Statistics Unit, **Georgia Vital Statistics Report: 1986**.

The age structures of black and white populations differ greatly. As shown in the population pyramid, larger proportions of the black population are young because blacks have higher birth rates and lower life expectancies. Whites live seven years longer than blacks and have fewer children.

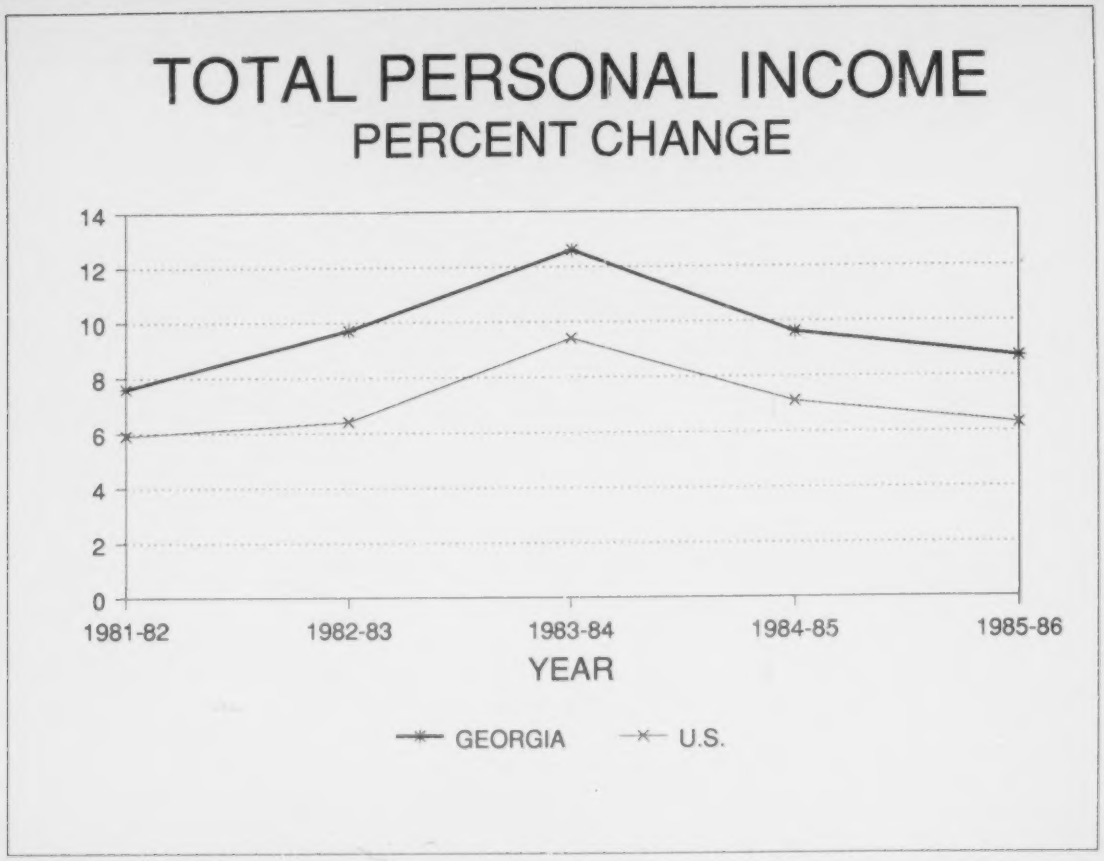
The larger proportions of blacks at ages 15-19 than at ages under 15 shows that the birth rate of blacks has fallen. The sharp decline in the proportions at ages 30 and over indicates both the heavy out-migration in earlier decades and the relatively high rates of mortality at younger ages. Among blacks infant and child mortality is high for both sexes. In the teens and twenties, homicide, suicide and accidents sharply decrease the proportion of young black males. Because of out-migration and high mortality at younger ages, the proportion of blacks, particularly black males, is low in the older ages.

The changing age structure has major implications for public education. Because of age differences between blacks and whites, a county with a minority black population may have a majority of black public school students. In such counties, it is not uncommon for older white landowners and retirees living on fixed incomes to resist the tax increases needed to fund adequate school systems. Fundamental changes in the organization and funding of public education are needed to promote equality of educational opportunity.



SOURCE: Georgia Department of Human Resources, Vital Records and Health Statistics Unit, **Georgia Vital Statistics Report: 1986**.

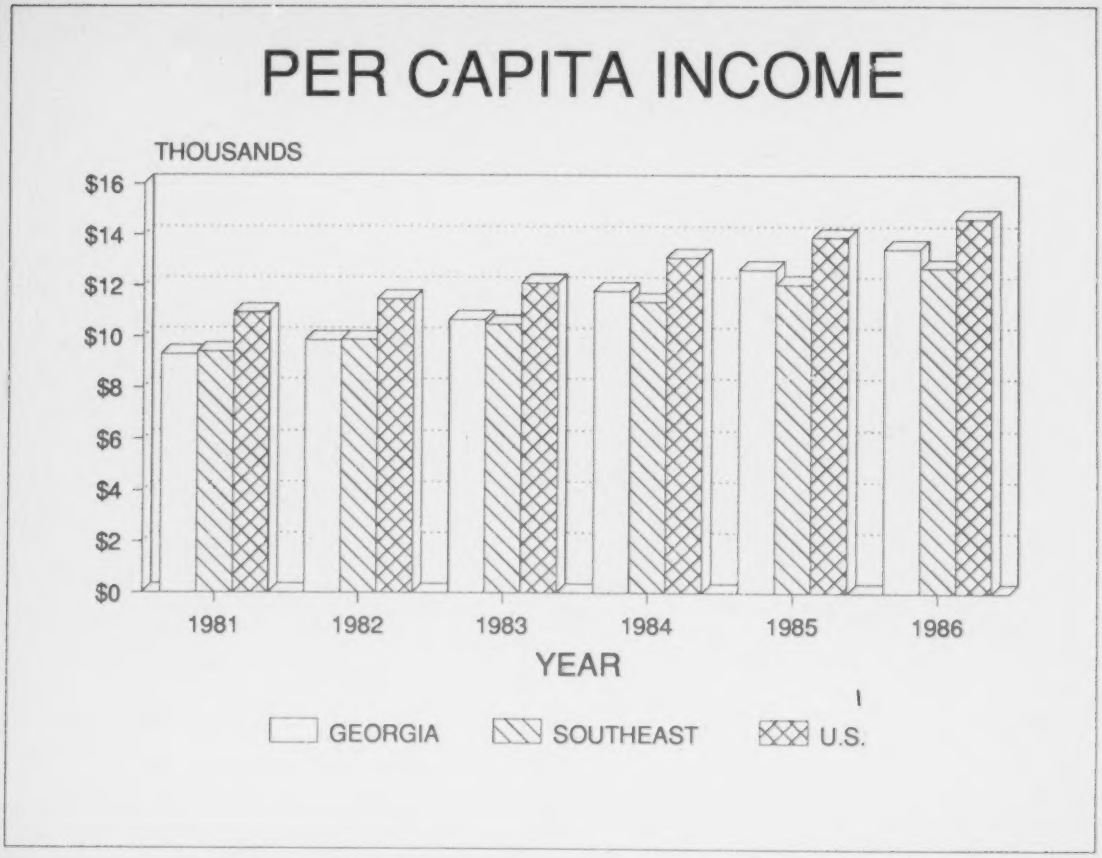
The proportion of children in the white population is low and the higher birth rates of past years is evident in the swelling of the pyramid at ages 15-30. At older ages the pyramid tapers but the decline is more gradual than with blacks. Especially notable are the higher proportions of whites in the middle ages. This indicates that Georgia was better able to retain whites than blacks in earlier years. The low proportion of white children indicates that, without in-migration, Georgia will become increasingly dependent upon a young black work force.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information Systems: 1981 - 1986.

Total personal income is the income received by all residents of an area. Georgia's total personal income (over $82 billion in 1986) increased by 58 percent from 1981 to 1986. Personal income in the United States as a whole increased by 40 percent during the same time period. Thus, Georgia's economy has grown faster than that of the nation. Increases to this time, however, have occurred from a relatively low base and as the state's income continues to increase it will be more difficult to exceed the national rate of income growth.

One of the reasons for the steady rise in income is the state's diversified economy which has kept unemployment rates lower than the national average. Plentiful employment opportunities have attracted numerous new residents whose incomes and education are often higher than those of long-term residents.



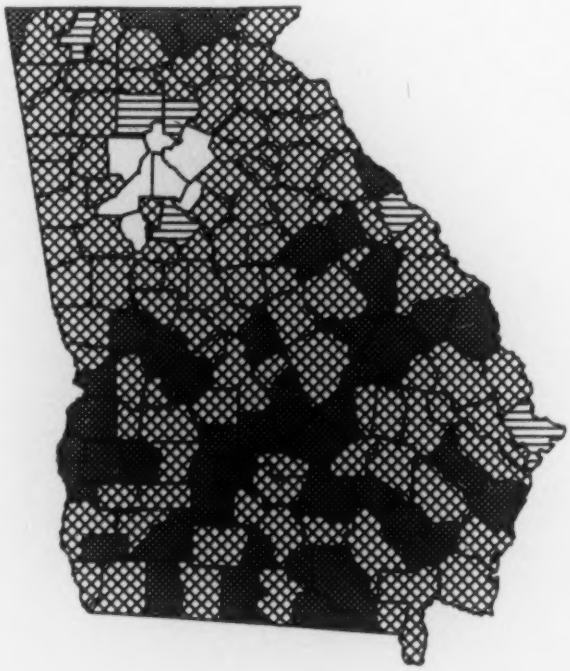
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information Systems: 1981 - 1986.

Per capita income is derived by dividing total personal income by the population of a given area such as the nation, a state or a county. In 1986, Georgia's per capita income was $13,451. Recent increases in Georgia's per capita income have been impressive. Between 1981 and 1986 Georgia's per capita income grew by 45 percent. The state's 6.4 percent increase between 1985 and 1986 exceeded the nation's rate of 5.2 percent.

Beginning in 1983 Georgia exceeded the Southeast (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia) in per capita income. Georgia's rate of growth from 1981 to 1986 also exceeded the Southeastern average.

The lack of a diversified economy, high percentages of older residents who must rely on Social Security, plus low education and skill levels contributes to low per capita income. While significant gains have been made in per capita income, Georgia's per capita income in 1986 was only 92 percent of the U.S. average.

PER CAPITA INCOME: 1986



MS = $ 9,697
GA = $13,451
US = $14,639

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information Systems: 1981 - 1986.

The map shows Georgia's 1986 per capita income divided into four categories. The first category shows counties whose per capita income exceeded the national average. Only six counties in Georgia had per capita incomes greater than the national average ($14,639). They include Cobb, Dekalb, Fayette, Fulton, Gwinnett and Rockdale counties. These counties reflect Atlanta's dynamic, growth oriented economy and residents with the educational skills to take advantage of the opportunities offered.

The second category included counties with per capita income below the U.S. average but higher than the Georgia average ($14,351). Only six counties (Chatham, Cherokee, Columbia, Forsyth, Henry, Whitfield) fit into this category. All of these counties are metropolitan except for Whitfield County. Whitfield County's high ranking is due to the employment opportunities generated by the carpet industry.

The third category shows counties with per capita income lower than Georgia but higher than the state with the lowest per capita income in the nation, Mississippi ($9,697). Almost two-thirds, or 103, of Georgia's counties in Georgia had per capita incomes that were lower than Georgia's average yet greater than Mississippi's.

The last category includes counties with per capita incomes lower than Mississippi's. Forty-four counties in Georgia had per capita incomes lower $9,697. A majority of these counties are located in the southern portion of the state although four of these counties (Dade, Fannin, Towns and Union) are in North Georgia.

BUSINESS & INDUSTRY
GEORGIA

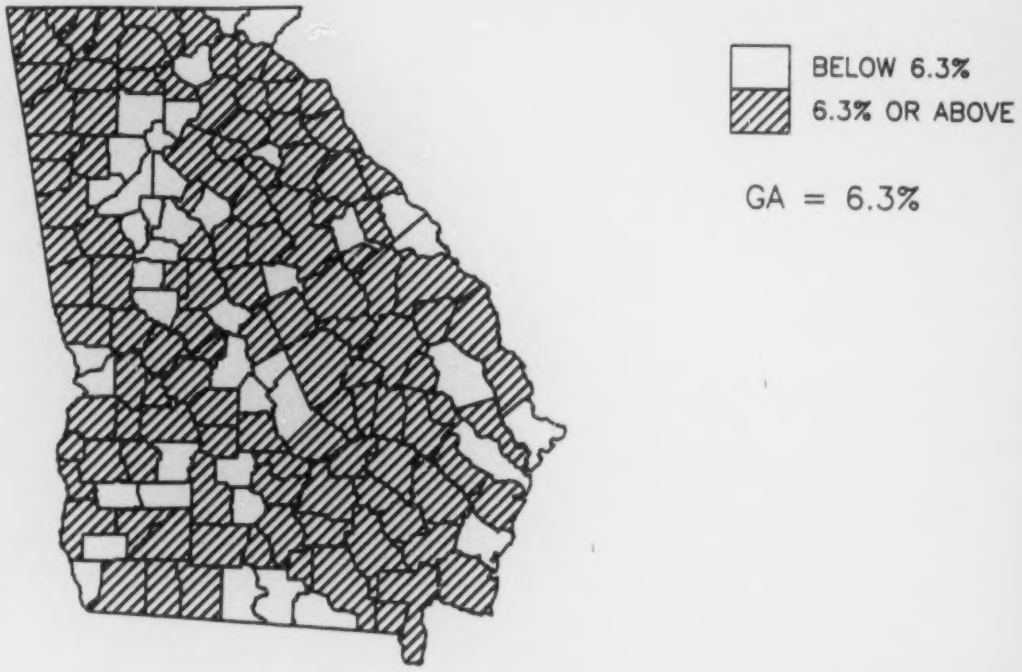
Industry Division	PERCENT Establish-ments	Employ-ment	Wages
Services	30.77	18.13	16.64
Retail Trade	20.81	18.18	10.79
Wholesale Trade	11.60	7.35	10.19
Contract Construction	11.58	5.58	5.90
Fin., Ins., Real Est.	7.35	5.57	6.83
Manufacturing	6.50	20.77	22.06
Transportation & Pub. Util.	3.44	6.06	9.11
Ag, Forestry, Fisheries	1.76	0.87	0.60
State Govt.	1.06	3.54	3.82
Federal Govt.	0.87	3.57	4.59
Local Govt.	0.85	9.59	8.65
Mining	0.14	0.31	0.42
Non-Classifiable Estab.	3.27	0.48	0.40
3RD QUARTER, 1987	100.00	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: Georgia Department of Labor, **Georgia Employment and Wages, 3rd Quarter, 1987.**

This table shows the relationship between the number of establishments, the workers employed in those establishments, and the wages received. By showing percentages instead of actual numbers greater insight into the relationships can be achieved.

With 31 percent of all establishments, the service economy has the largest number of firms, but it employs fewer than 20 percent of the work force and pays less than 17 percent of the wages. The same trend occurs in the retail trade sector. This reinforces the notion that the service and retail sectors tend to be low wage, low skill types of enterprise. In contrast, the manufacturing sector represents less than eight percent of the firms, yet employs over 20 percent of the work force and pays over 22 percent of the wages.

MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS: 1985
PERCENT OF ALL ESTABLISHMENTS



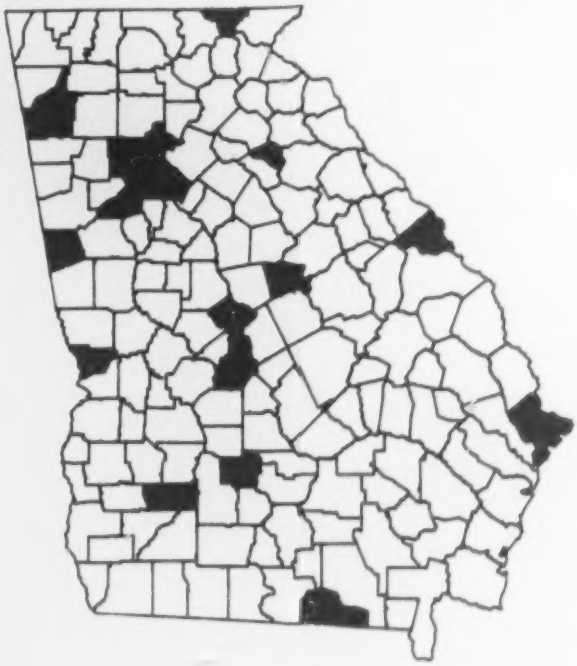
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **County Business Patterns: 1986.**

Manufacturing activity is important to the vitality of a community because these enterprises pay relatively high wages and often rely on other local firms for raw materials and services. The map shows counties which have a percentage of manufacturing establishments less than and greater than the 6.3 percent state average.

Manufacturing plays a major role in the economy of rural Georgia as shown by the 117 counties with more than 6.3 percent of their total number of establishments in the manufacturing sector. Manufacturing provides these areas with much needed employment and is particularly important because of the depressed nature of the agricultural economy.

The relatively small number of manufacturing firms employing a large number of workers may create future problems. If one of these firms closes or declares bankruptcy a large number of workers would become unemployed.

SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS: 1985
PERCENT OF ALL ESTABLISHMENTS



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **County Business Patterns: 1986.**

The service economy is one of the fastest growing economic sectors in Georgia and the nation. The map shows counties which have a percentage of service establishments less than or greater than the 28.4 percent state average.

The location of counties with a high percentage of service industries presents a picture opposite to that of manufacturing. Counties with high percentages of service establishments are located in metropolitan areas. Only 16 counties have more than 28 percent of their establishments in the service sector. These businesses depend upon large numbers of customers or clients and hence must locate near high density areas.

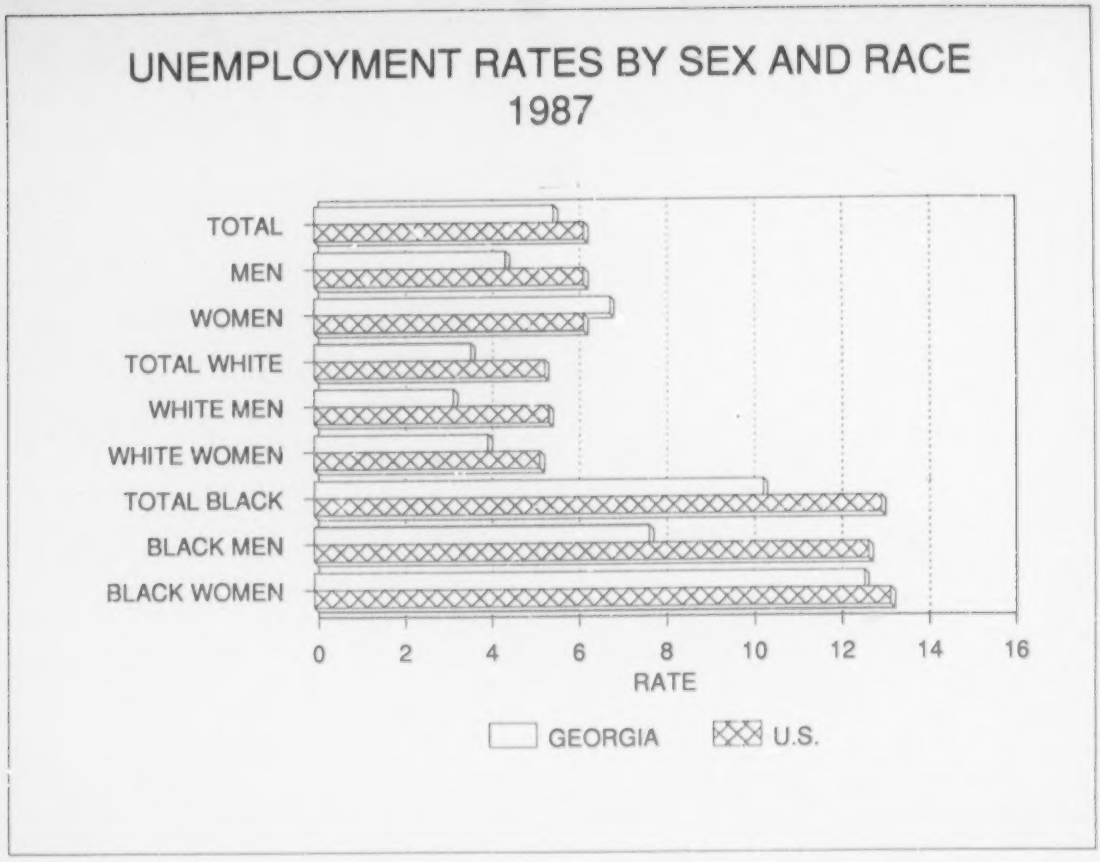
SOURCE: Georgia Department of Labor, Labor Information Systems, **Total Civilian Labor Force Annual Averages: 1980 - 1987.**

Georgia's unemployment rate, even during the last recession, has been lower than that of the nation since 1980. A diversified economy, composed of agriculture, agri-business, manufacturing, tourism, defense contracting, transportation, and a well-developed service economy is responsible for the state's low overall unemployment rate. States like Texas, Louisiana, West Virginia and Oklahoma, whose economies are highly dependent on a single natural resource, are now suffering from such dependence.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE: 1987

SOURCE: Georgia Department of Labor, Labor Information Systems, **Total Civilian Labor Force Annual Averages: 1987.**

Unemployment rates for counties in 1987 were divided into two groups: those above and those below the state average of 5.5 percent. Forty-seven counties had unemployment rates lower than the state average. The majority of these counties are metropolitan. Two out of three counties had unemployment rates above the state average. These counties are distributed throughout the state. Many of these areas suffer from slow job creation, the out-migration of young people, substandard housing, low educational attainment, and underdeveloped human resources.



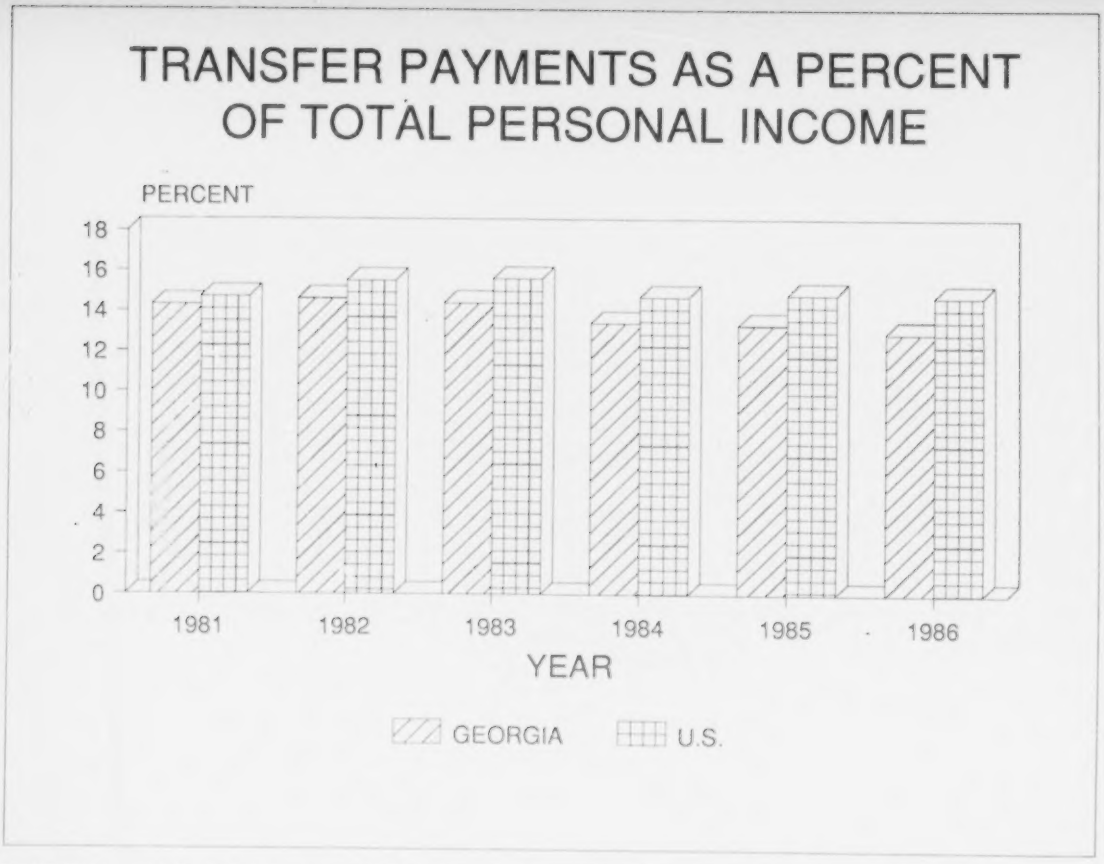
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, **Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1987**.

Georgia's 1987 unemployment rate of 5.5 compares favorably with the U.S. rate of 6.2. Rates by race and sex present a more detailed view of unemployment patterns for Georgia and the nation.

Unemployment in the U.S. affects blacks significantly more than whites. The national unemployment rate for whites was 5.3, but for blacks it was 13.0. White males, with a rate of 5.4 fared considerably better than their black counterparts with a rate of 12.7. Black females in the U.S. had an unemployment rate of 13.2 compared to 5.2 for white females.

The pattern in Georgia shows that black males, with an unemployment rate of 7.7, are doing better than black males across the nation. The rates for white males and white females are also lower in Georgia than in the nation.

The unemployment rate for black females, 12.6 in 1987, though less than the comparable rate for the United States, was the highest in the state. Low educational levels, births to unwed mothers, and lack of marketable skills play an important role in the high unemployment rate of black females.

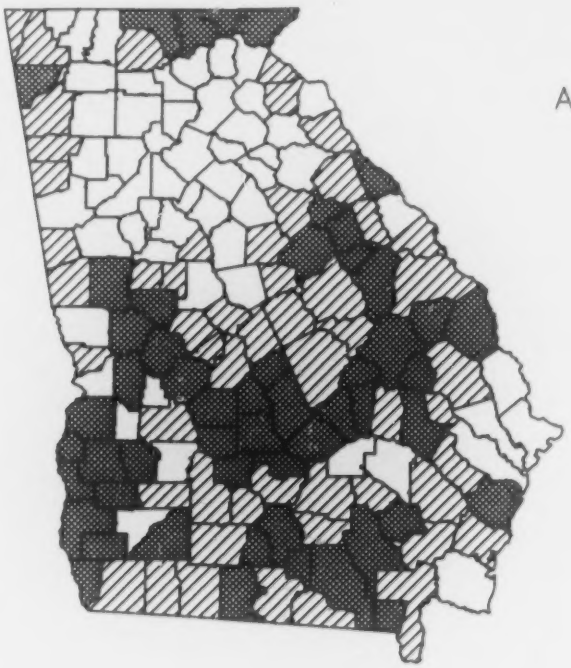


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information Systems: 1986.

Transfer payments include more than welfare subsidies.[25] They are payments to persons from both government and business for which services are not currently rendered. These payments accounted for 12.9 percent of the state's total personal income in 1986 compared to 14.7 percent for the nation.

Transfer payments in Georgia increased by 46.7 percent, from $17.7 billion in 1981 to $26.0 billion in 1986. The majority of transfer payments involve retirement and disability payments. These figures reflect increases in the number of elderly, fatherless families, and those living below the poverty level.

TRANSFER PAYMENTS AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME: 1986

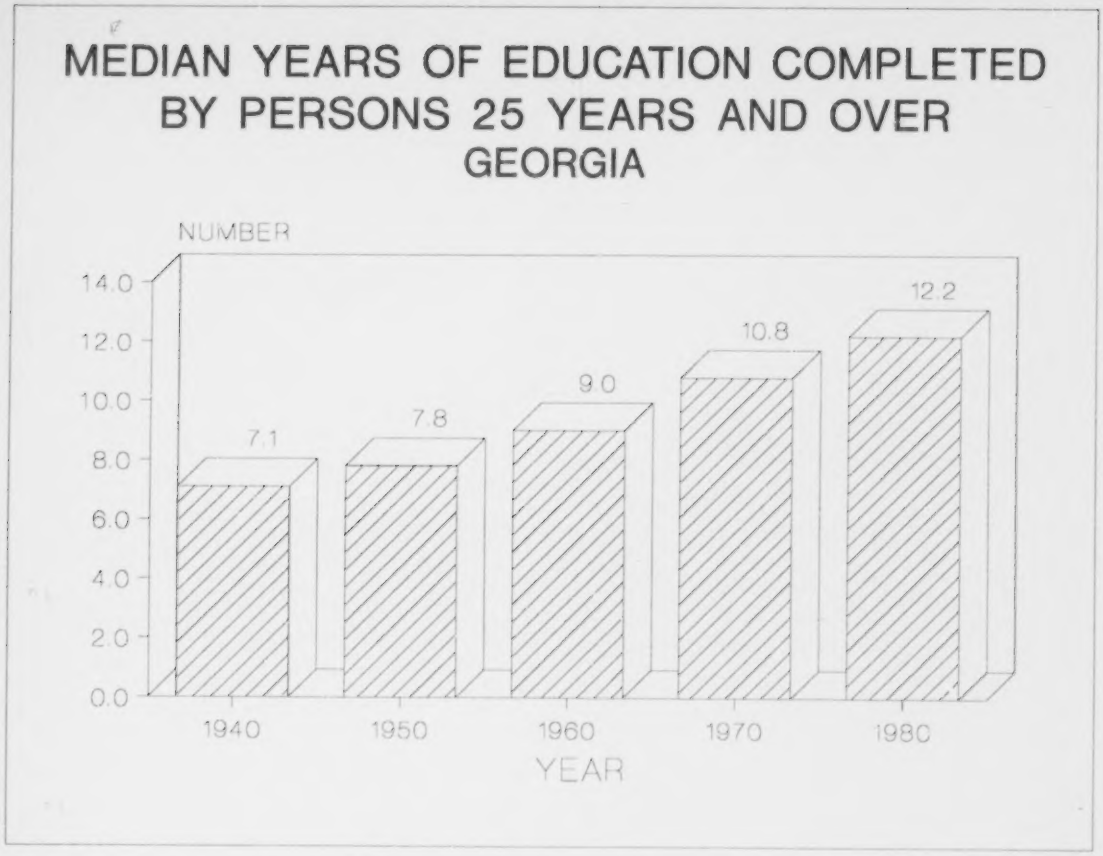


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information Systems: 1981 - 1986.

The map shows transfer payments as a percentage of total personal income. A high percentage of transfer payments can signify both affluence and poverty.

The large number of North Georgia mountain counties in the low category indicates that this area has attracted a rather large number of affluent retirees. Their retirement benefits are derived from a variety of sources, not just Social Security.

The South Georgia situation, however, reflects an aging population highly dependent upon Social Security or other benefits. These benefits, while relatively low, constitute a large part of total personal income. Changes in the economic structure which affect the cost of living will disproportionately affect the elderly residents of such areas.



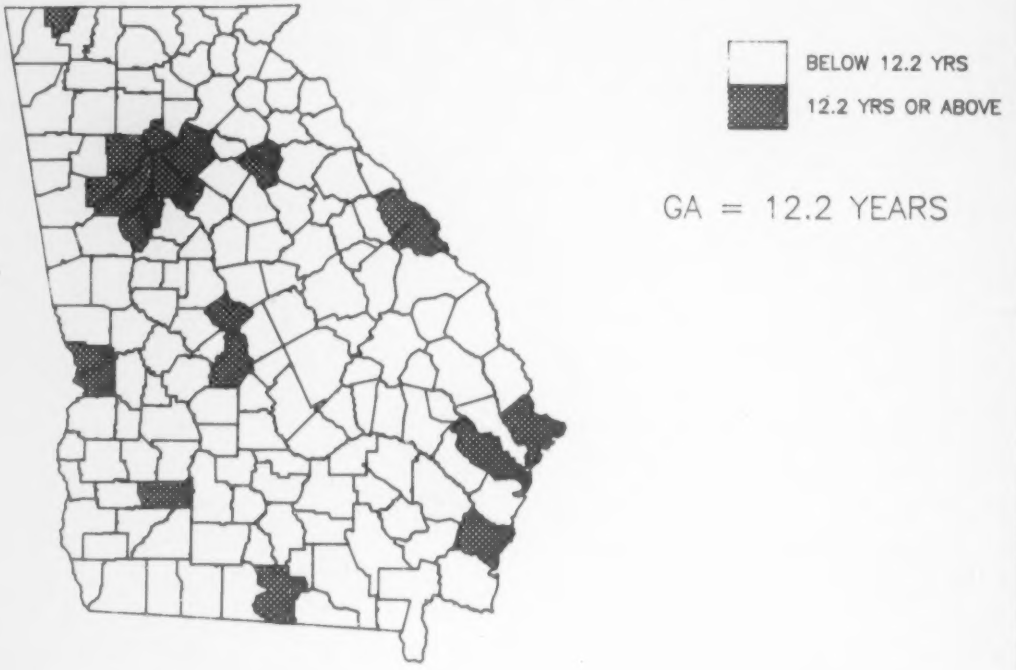
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1940 - 1980.**

Tremendous gains in educational attainment have been made in Georgia since 1940. In 1940 the median years of education completed in Georgia was only 7.1. By 1980 the figure rose to 12.2 years.

Still, Georgia has much further to go to equal the nation. In 1980 Georgia ranked 44th among the 50 states in the percent of students attending college. Only 56 percent of the population aged 25 and over were high school graduates as against 67 percent for the nation.

Education is a generational process. Research indicates that children with well educated parents tend to achieve the same or higher levels.[26] Many Georgians whose education did not exceed nine years in 1980 are now parents. The legacy of poor education will influence Georgia's social and economic environment well into the next century.

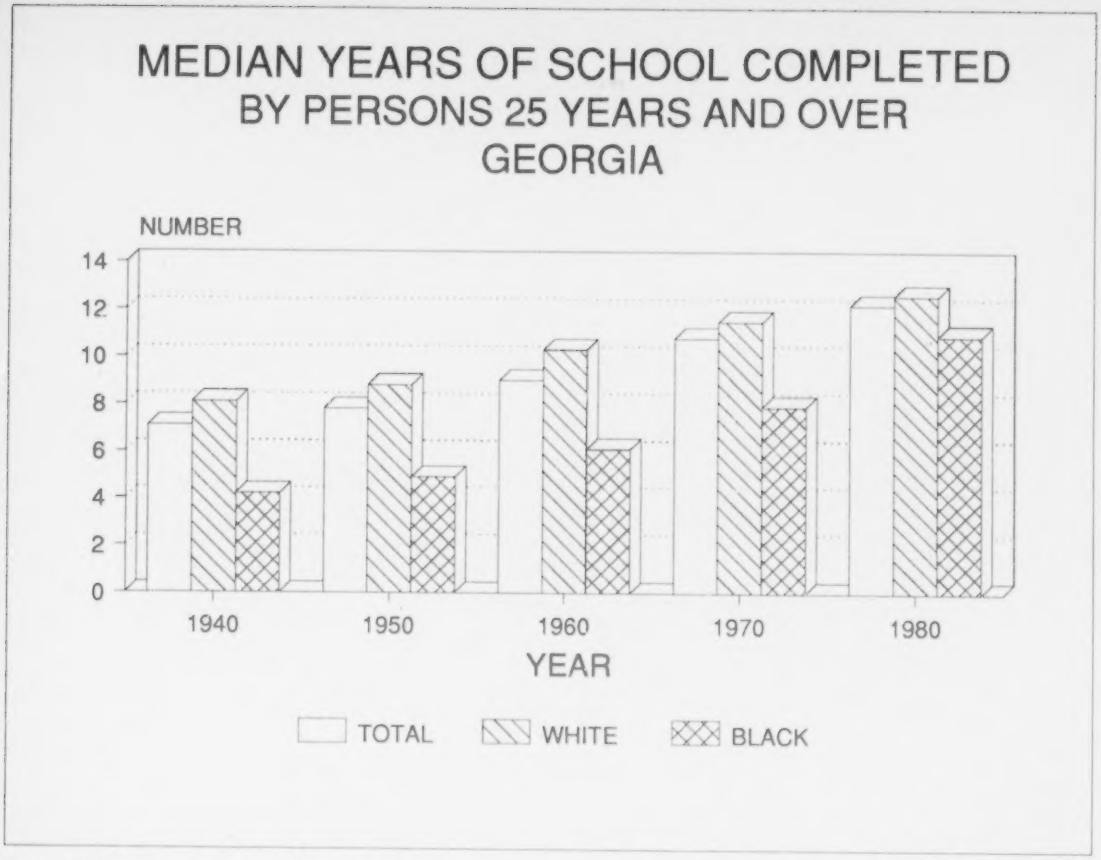
MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS AGED 25 & OVER: 1980



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980**.

In 1980 the median educational attainment for Georgia was 12.2 years. The map shows the counties that are above and below the Georgia average. Twenty-two counties had educational attainment above 12.2 years while 141 counties were below the 12.2 average. All the counties above the 12.2 average are metropolitan except three, and one of these is Liberty County, the home of Fort Stewart, a military base.

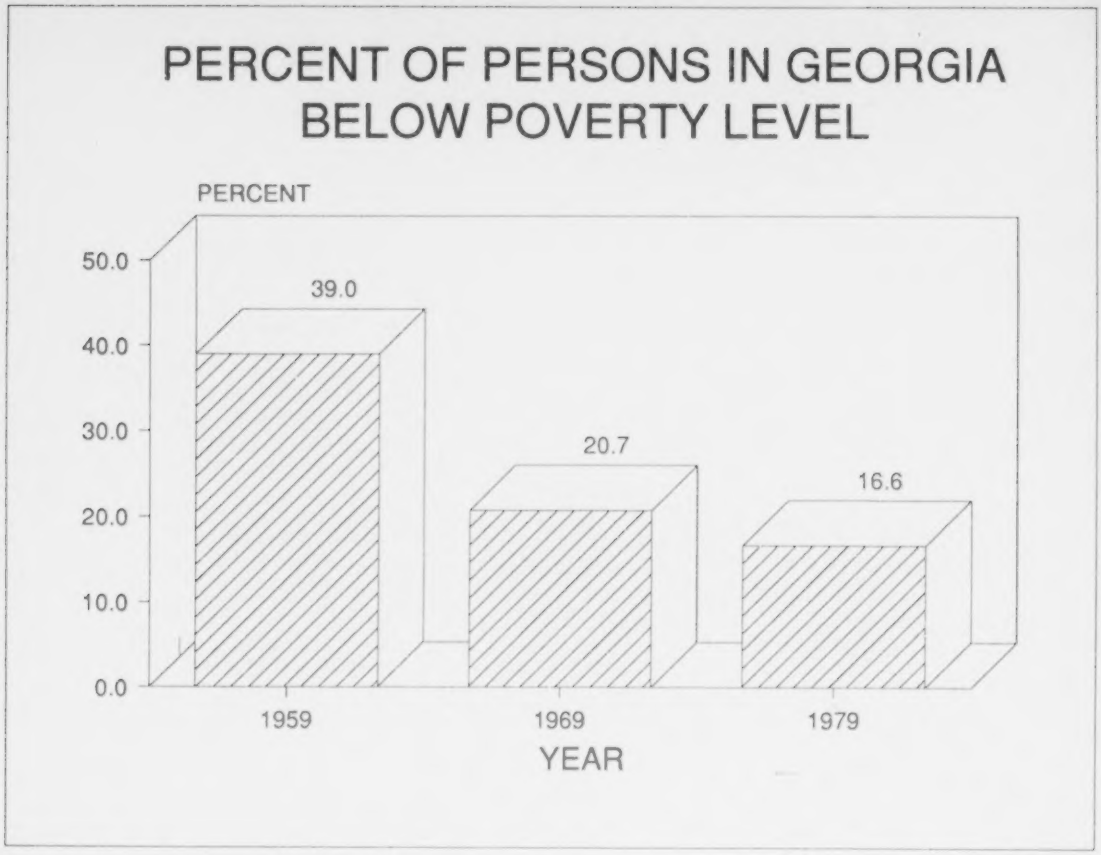
Revitalizing rural Georgia is not just in the best interest of the 2.2 million people who live there. It is also in the best interest of the entire state. Rural Georgians are responsible for the production of food, fiber, forest and mineral resources as well as caretakers of nearly 81 percent of the state's land and water resources. Improving rural education is one of the keys to improving the social and economic conditions of the entire state.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1940 - 1980**.

At the beginning of World War II, the median years of education completed by Georgians was 8.4 for whites and 4.2 for blacks. By 1960, the education level for blacks moved upward to 6.1 years, reached 8.0 in 1970, and was 10.9 in 1980. This represents progress, but for many counties the gap between the educational levels of blacks and whites has remained about the same.

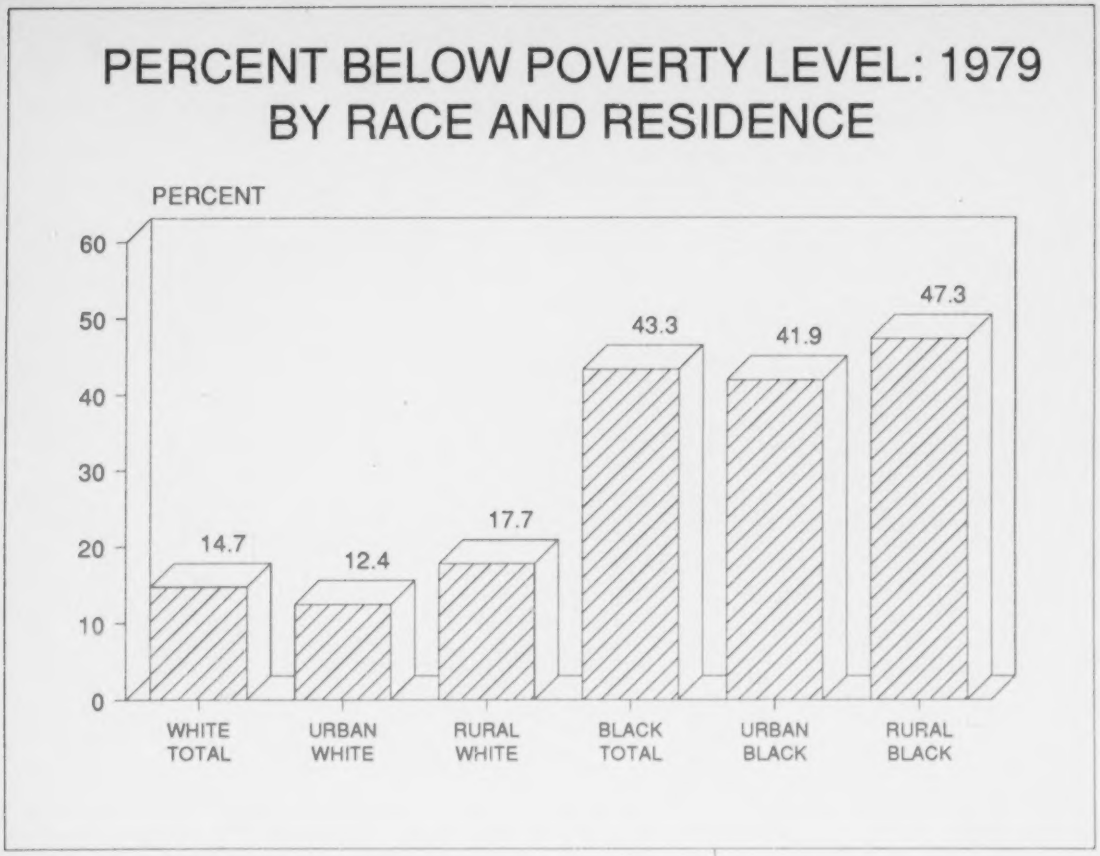
Education affects the ability to compete in the market place. Without adequate education, many black workers will be confined to low-wage jobs in service industries. Although these jobs are stable, they offer little chance for advancement.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1960 - 1980**.

Between 1959 and 1979 the percent of Georgians living on incomes below the poverty level decreased from 39 to 17 percent. According to the last census, Georgia ranked eighth among the states for the highest percentage of the population living below the poverty level.

Persons living in poverty can consume a considerable portion of tax generated resources. Poverty is a major obstacle to the state's overall development, and continued efforts should be made to decrease the proportion of Georgians living in poverty.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980**.

In 1979, an individual was considered to be living below the poverty level if he or she had an income of less than $3,686. For a family (husband, wife and two children under 18) that figure was $7,356. In 1969, the figure was $1,834 for an individual and $3,721 for a family of four.

The chance of a person living below the poverty level varies greatly. In 1979, nonmetropolitan residents, farm families, female-headed households, female-headed households with children under 18 and blacks were more likely to be living below the poverty level than the general population.

The percentage of black Georgians living below the poverty level was three times as great as that for whites. For urban areas the racial differences were even greater. Over forty percent of urban blacks live below the poverty level compared to twelve percent of the white population. For both races rural dwellers were more likely to live below the poverty level than their urban counterparts. Almost half of all rural blacks lived below the poverty level.

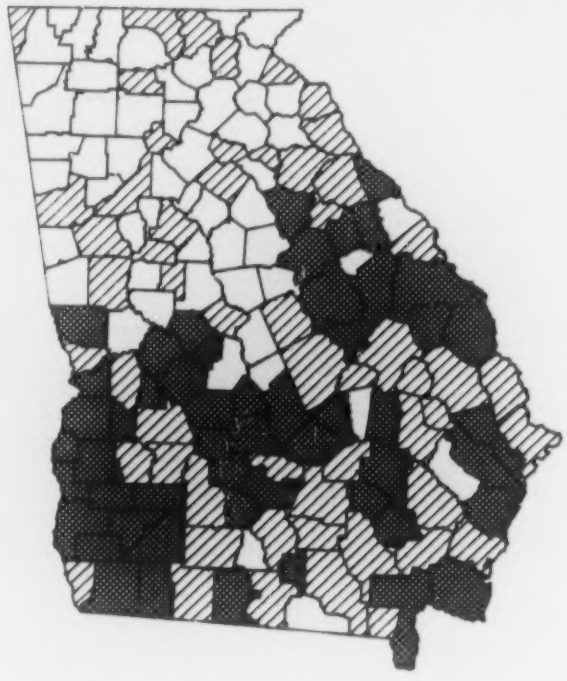
PERSONS LIVING BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL
1979

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980.**

The next three maps show the geographic distribution of poverty in Georgia. Counties with the highest percentage of people living below the poverty level tend to be in the southern half of the state, an exception being Union County.

The chance that a person will live below the poverty level varies greatly by area, race, and family situation. In 1979, nonmetropolitan residents, farm families, female headed households and blacks were more likely to live below the poverty level than the general population.

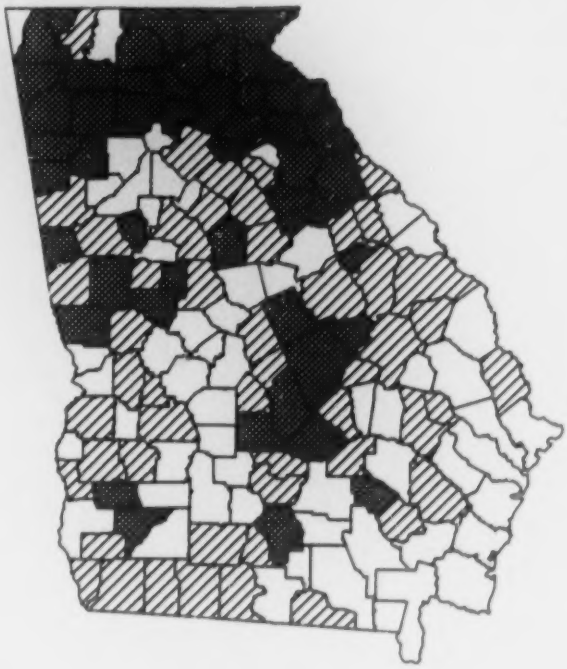
FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL: 1979



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980**.

Counties with high percentages of female-headed households living below the poverty level also tend to be located south of the Fall Line. These areas have a large percentage of black residents. Poverty crosses generational lines and people who are born poor tend to grow up poor. Breaking the cycle of poverty in these high female-headed household areas will require special programs of education for underprivileged children and employment for rural women.

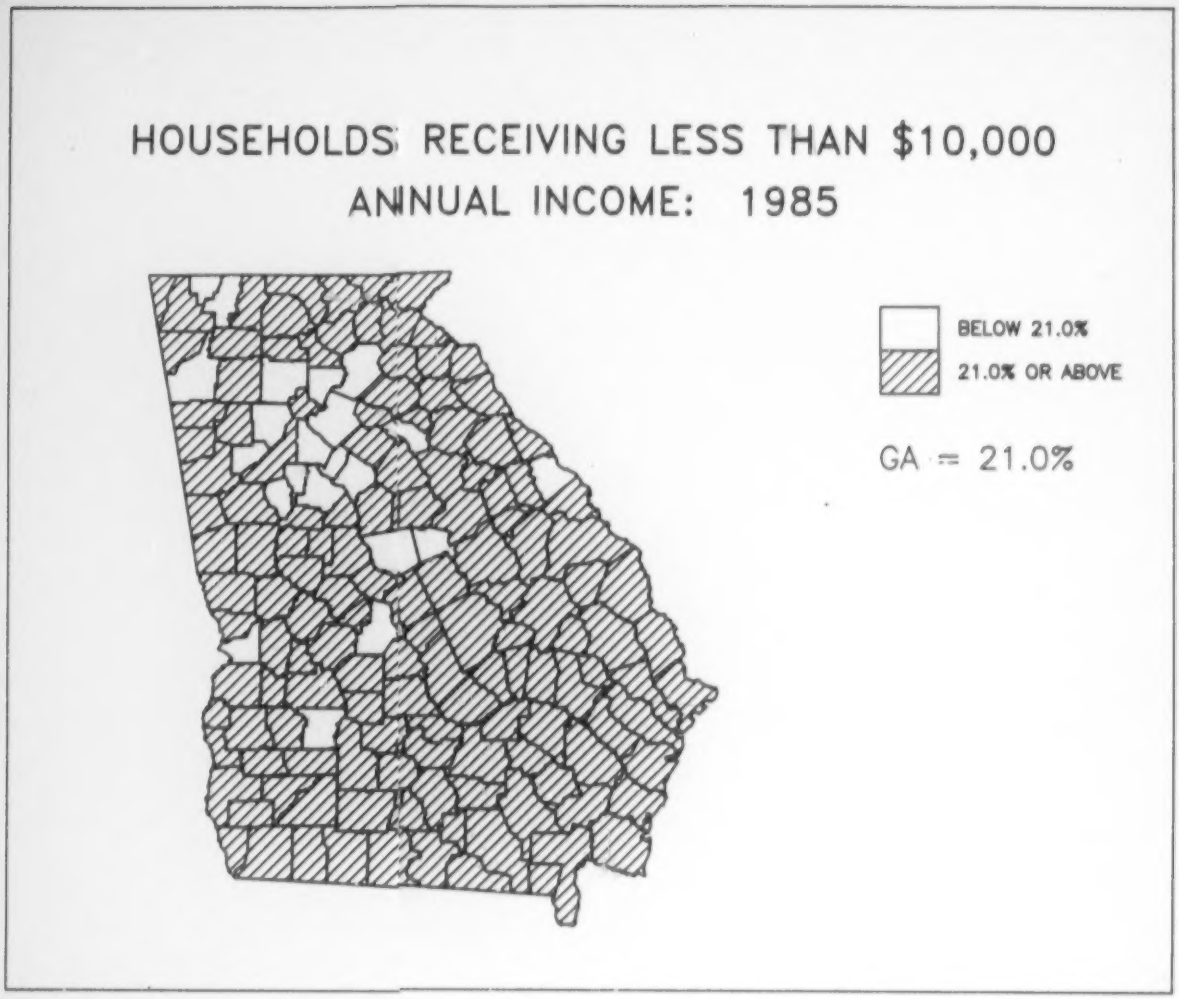
PERSONS 65 AND OVER LIVING BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL: 1979



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980**.

The map shows the percentage of persons 65 years and older living below the poverty level. Note the contrasts with the two preceding maps. Poverty in the total population and among female heads of households tends to be a South Georgia phenomenon, while poverty among the elderly is concentrated in North Georgia. This contrast is related to racial differences in age structure. Whites have longer life expectancies and consequently have higher proportions of aged.

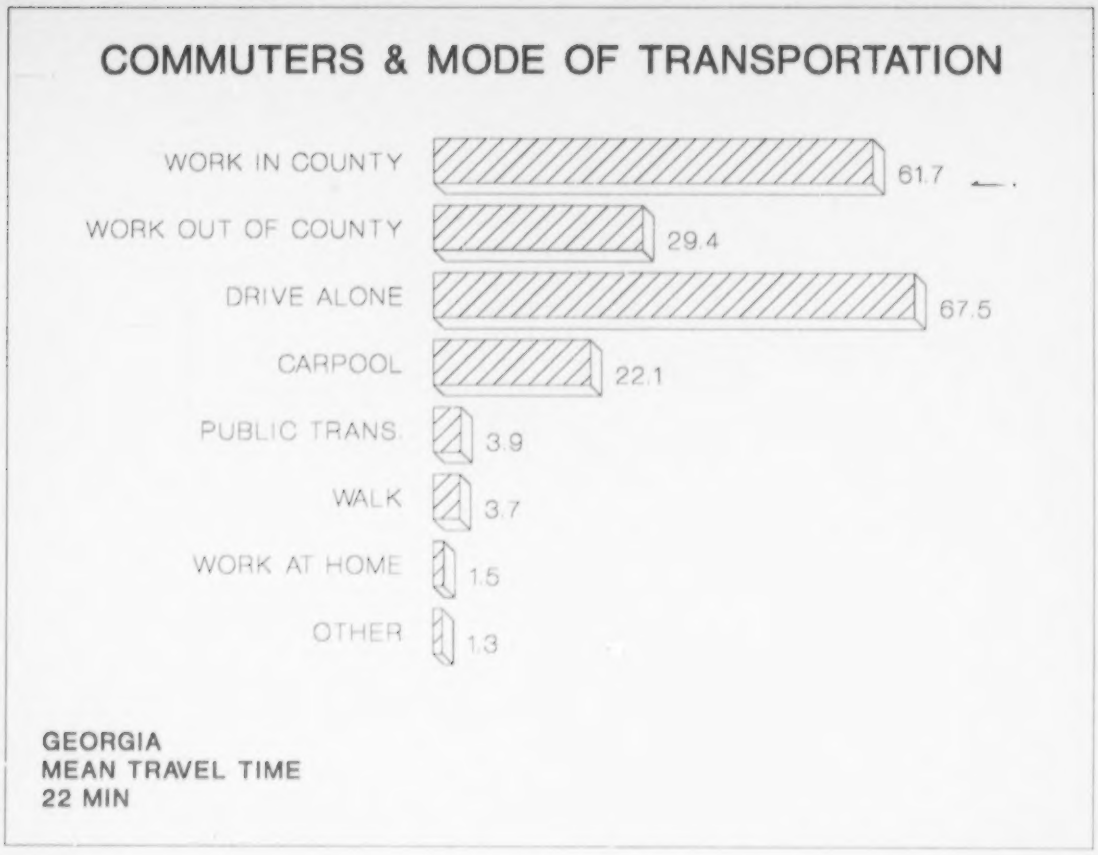
The aging of the population will cause a dramatic increase in the number of elderly poor as people live longer than their retirement savings can support them or as they require long-term professional care. The public will be called upon to provide humane care for growing numbers of poor and ill older persons.



SOURCE: Georgia Department of Human Resources, **Indicators of Needs for Human Services in Georgia, 1987.**

In 1985 more than a fifth of the households in the state received less than $10,000 a year. In these 455,000 households lived 1.2 million people. In only 22 counties did less than 21 percent of households receive less than $10,000 a year. Only a few counties in Central and South Georgia are above the 21 percent cutoff.

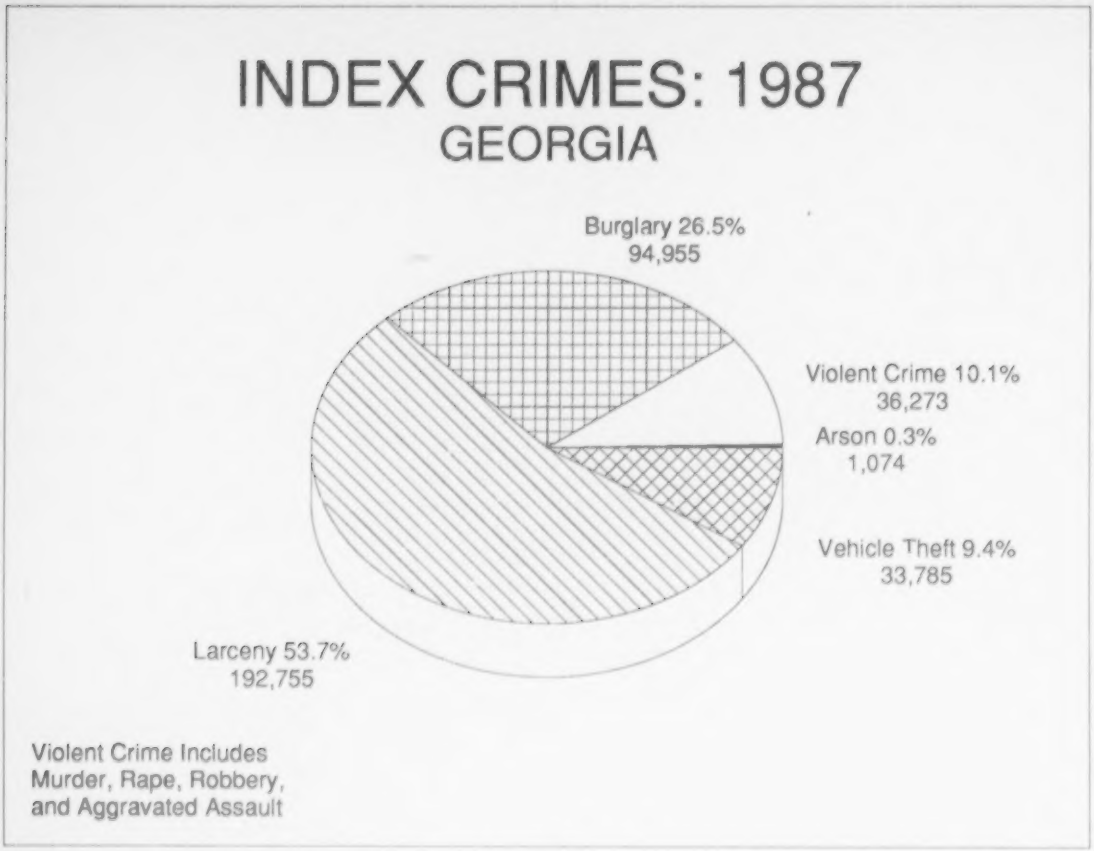
Lee and Houston Counties, suburban bedroom communities of Albany and Macon, reflect their affluent, white, college educated residents. Chattahoochee County, home to Fort Benning, indicates the importance of military spending to the state's economy. Georgia College and the State Hospital in Baldwin County provide steady employment at relatively high wages. Their presence also generates other service jobs.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, **General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980**.

In 1980, 641,000, almost 30 percent , of Georgia's work force crossed a county boundary to get to work. Compared to other regions, Georgia has high levels of out-commuting. One out of six workers in the U.S. crossed a county boundary to work. This is substantially less than the one in five in the Southeast and the more than one in four in Georgia.

The large number and small size of Georgia counties is a factor in out-commuting. High levels of out-commuting, however, have far-reaching social, economic and political consequences. When commuters shop where they work, local businesses may lose a significant portion of their trade. Local business, government revenues, land values, services, traffic congestion and voter registration are much affected by commuters who often have higher educational attainment levels and incomes than non-commuters.



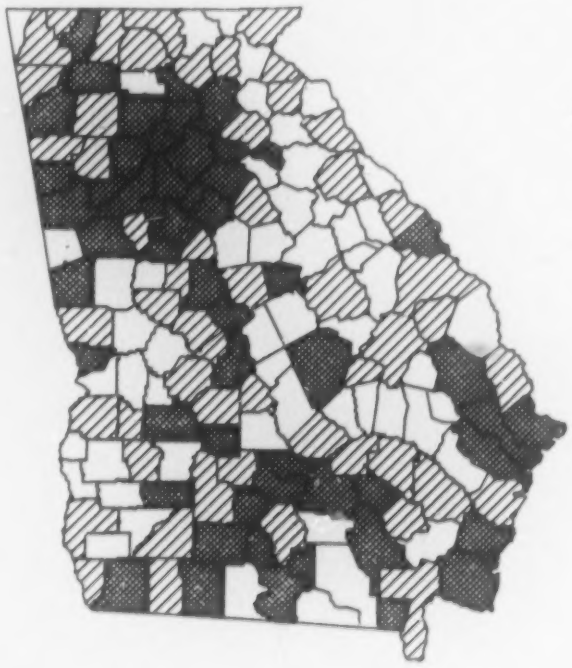
SOURCE: Georgia Crime Information Center, **Georgia Criminal Justice Data: 1987.**

In 1987, Georgians reported 358,842 index crimes (or more serious crimes) to law enforcement agencies. Ten percent of these crimes were violent in nature and 90 percent were property crimes. For every 100,000 people in Georgia there were 5,831 reported index crimes, a rate seven percent higher than the preceding year.

It costs $34.60 a day to house and feed one prisoner, so crime is a serious economic problem in Georgia.[27] Police and court costs, along with personal and property damages, divert valuable resources from other uses.

The recent AIDS epidemic will greatly influence the administration of state prisons. Medical costs, testing procedures and isolation cells are issues that will demand attention and divert scarce resources in the near future.

CRIME RATE: 1987

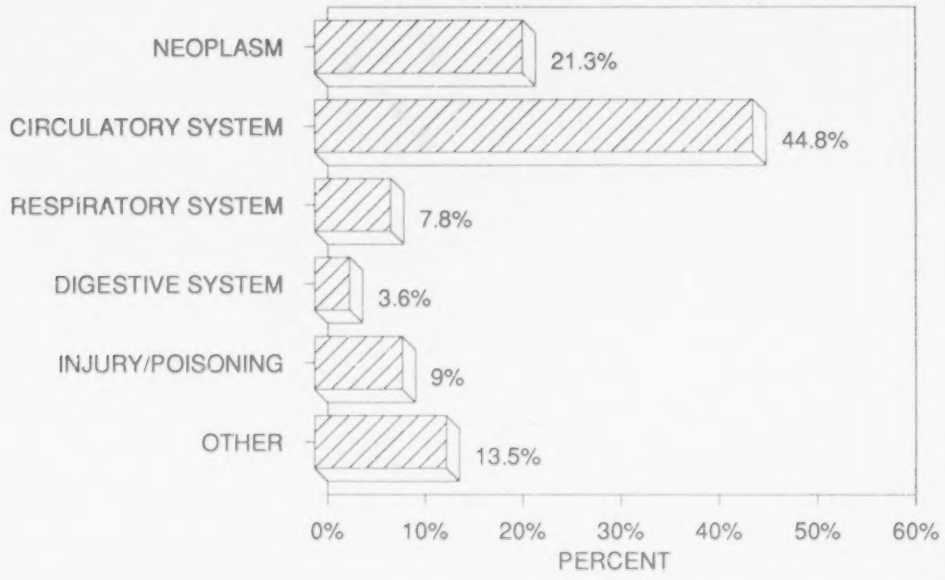


SOURCE: Georgia Crime Information Center, **Georgia Criminal Justice Data: 1987.**

Counties with high crime rates are located throughout the state, but they are primarily located in or around metropolitan centers. Crime has always been less of a problem in rural than in urban areas, and to some extent this continues to be true.

The counties in the low category tend to be rural and isolated. It may be that in these counties crime will increase as isolation decreases. In part, the low crime rates in rural areas are related to the relatively small number of teenagers and young adults, those most likely to commit crimes.

LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH: 1986
GEORGIA



SOURCE: Georgia Department of Human Resources, Vital Records and Health Statistics Unit, **Georgia Vital Statistics Report: 1986**.

In 1986, 49,336 people died in Georgia. Forty-five percent of all deaths were caused by diseases of the circulatory system. More than a fifth of the deaths were cancer-related (neoplasms) and eight percent were associated with diseases of the digestive system. Cancer related deaths are a function of life expectancy. As people live longer, the organs become more susceptible to injury and disease. Deaths from injury or poisoning accounted for nine percent. Reducing premature deaths will become more important as the birth rate declines and labor shortages begin to affect industry and business.

Nutrition, behavior, environment, socioeconomic position and access to health care systems contribute to the good health of both urban and rural Georgians. Of these factors socioeconomic status may be the most important because nutrition, behavior and access to health care are strongly influenced by socioeconomic position.

SELECTED VITAL STATISTICS 1986: GEORGIA

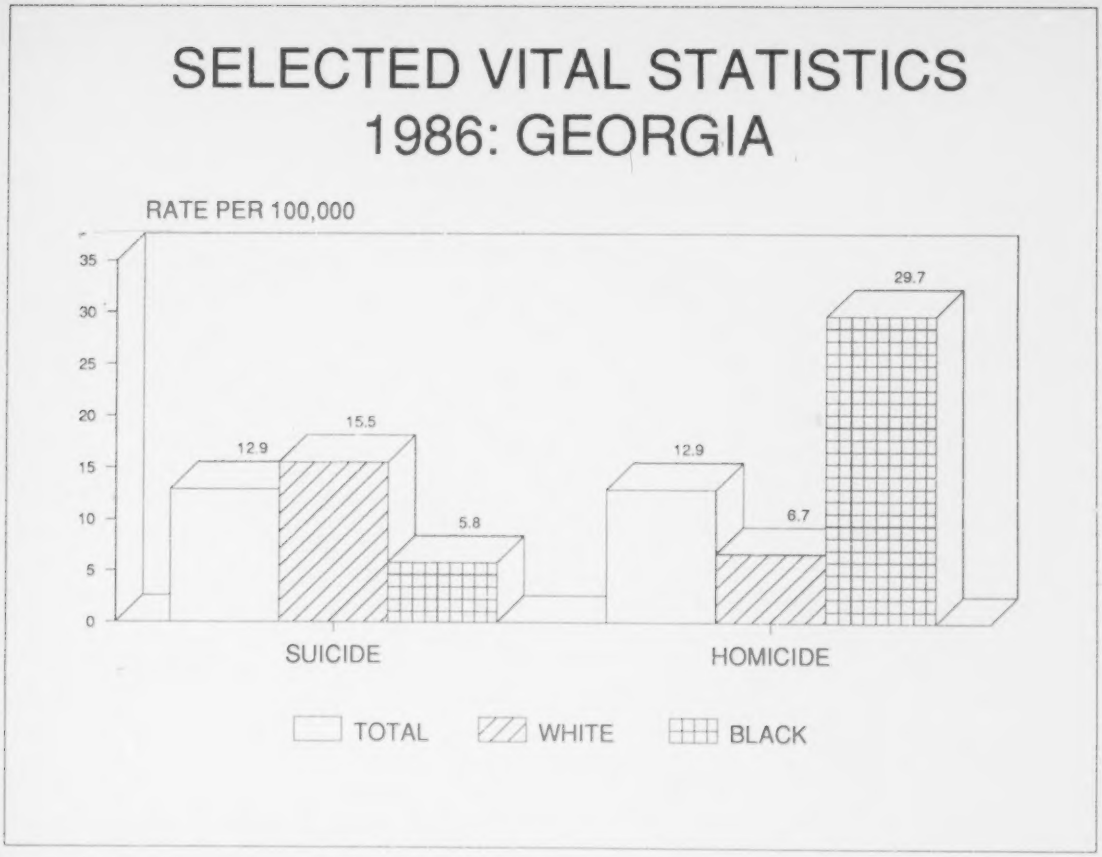
SOURCE: Georgia Department of Human Resources, Vital Records and Health Statistics Unit, **Georgia Vital Statistics Report: 1986**.

For every 1,000 people in Georgia, 11.6 get married each year. This is significantly higher than the 9.7 national rate. White Georgians have a higher marriage rate than blacks. The white marriage rate is 12.4 while the black rate is 9.1. The divorce rate for the total population is 5.5, indicating that for every two marriages there is nearly one divorce. The divorce rate for whites is 5.9 and for blacks it is 3.3.

The state's birth rate was 16.0 in 1986. The white rate was 14.2, but for blacks it was nearly 50 percent higher at 20.2. A major problem is birth to unwed mothers. For every 1,000 women aged 10 to 44, there were 18.1 births to unwed mothers. The white rate was 6.4 while the black rate was 47.4. The rate of induced abortion was 21.7 for the total population, 17.0 for whites and 30.7 for blacks.

Except for the death rate, dramatic differences can be seen between races. Note that while the birth rate for black women slightly exceeds that for whites, the differences in births to unwed mothers by race is striking as is the rate of induced abortions.

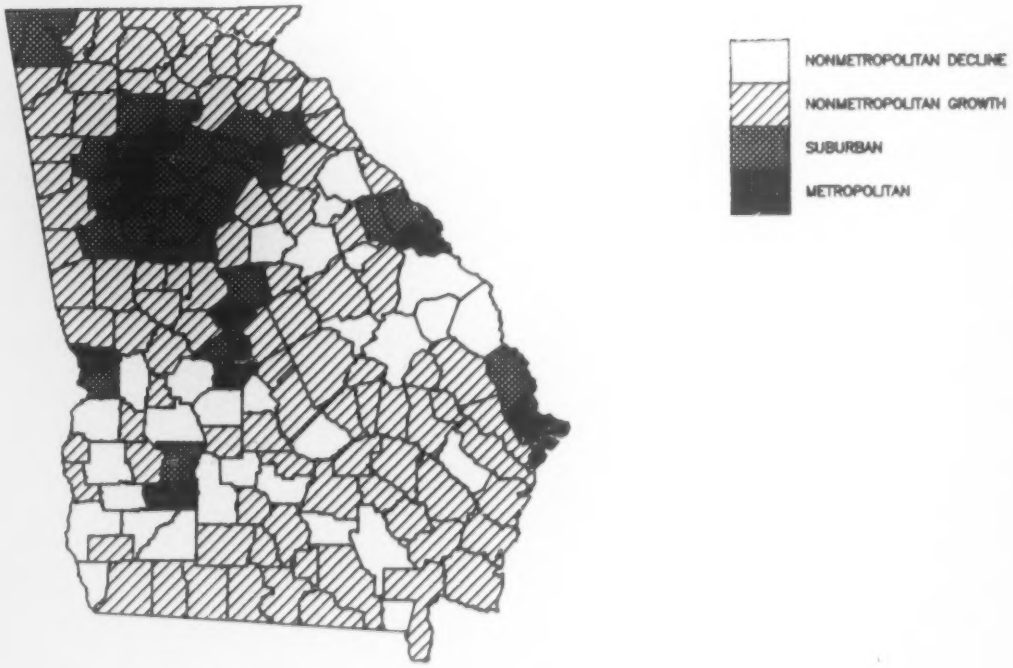
The infant mortality rate is the number of deaths under the age of one per 1,000 live births. It is considered to be a prime indicator of the overall health and well-being of a society. Here pronounced racial differences are also apparent. The black infant mortality rate of 19.3 is more than twice the 9.3 rate for whites. Infant deaths are associated with other racial differences that include higher birth rates, higher proportions of births to unwed mothers, higher poverty levels and lesser access to prenatal care among blacks.



SOURCE: Georgia Department of Human Resources, Vital Records and Health Statistics Unit, **Georgia Vital Statistics Report: 1986**.

The last graph shows suicide and homicide rates per 100,000 population. For the state as a whole the suicide rate was 12.9 in 1986. The rate for whites was 15.5 and that for blacks was 5.8. This is one of the few instances in which a "problem rate" for whites exceeds that for blacks. The homicide rate for blacks, 29.7, is more than four times the 6.7 figure for whites. Georgia's homicide rate is the eighth highest among the states.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE



SOURCE: Provisional Population Estimates: 1986 - 1987.

SUMMARY: A GEORGIA PROFILE

Georgia's unparalleled growth had its origins in the years following World War II. Progressing from a minor player to an emerging national leader in economic and political spheres of influence, Georgia has evolved from a traditional agrarian state into a major cosmopolitan area.

The population gains that Georgia has experienced are not expected to continue indefinitely at current rates. A slowdown in growth will present decision makers with difficult choices because tax revenues generated by the growth-oriented economy may decline. If present tax policies continue, a slowdown in growth would lower tax revenues yet increased government spending for services may be required to support the previous high rates of population growth. Maintaining the qualtiy of life in rapidly expanding areas will require higher amounts of revenue.

The map shows the state divided into four areas based on metropolitan characteristics and population growth. They are: metropolitan, suburban, nonmetropolitan population growth, and nonmetropolitan population decline counties.[28]

METROPOLITAN

Counties in the metropolitan classification represent the heart of the state's urban centers. Metro Georgia is a study in marked contrasts. The central cities are the focus of opportunities, yet a large proportion of those with high-paying central city jobs live in the suburbs or outlying counties.

Metropolitan Georgia, with the exception of Cobb County, has many young, poorly educated black residents who live near or below the poverty level, and do not possess the job skills necessary to compete in a increasingly technologically sophisticated society. In addition, these metro areas have high crime, teen pregnancy and unemployment rates. The people left behind in metropolitan Georgia are some of the nation's poorest and least educated. The city of Atlanta ranks second among major cities for the highest number of people living below the poverty level.

Future planning activities in metropolitan Georgia will require a two pronged attack that balances a business oriented climate with the continued development of transportation, public utilities, safety, and educational facilities. Creative tax structures and public/private cooperation will be needed to maintain a dynamic economy.

State decision makers must also face the demographic reality that large numbers of poor, uneducated blacks live in metropolitan Georgia. Special attention needs to be given to the creation of other than service jobs. Training programs that are run by and for black businesses with local input and control will have a greater success rate than federally sponsored programs, managed by absentee administrators.

These programs must also take into consideration the high incidence of births to unwed black mothers. Day care centers that allow young women to work and provide children with a head start on the educational ladder are needed.

SUBURBAN

The second area identified is suburban Georgia. These counties are also metropolitan, obtaining their metropolitan status because a third or more of their work force commutes into the central city to work. These areas are predominantly white and affluent. A high percentage of the residents are also college educated and have high incomes.

The growth of suburban areas is often made at the expense of central cities. Over time, the central city may lose population to the suburban area and be left with a large minority population dependent upon low wage service jobs.

A majority of the population of suburban Georgia lives in unincorporated subdivisions that have haphazardly leapfrogged over physical and political boundaries, growing into a maze of interconnected bedroom communities. These communities were initially built in an unzoned, unrestricted era.

With the advent of water rationing, the shortage of sanitary landfills, traffic congestion and the other accompanying problems of high density areas, suburban Georgia needs leadership to help solve problems that do not stop at county boundaries. For example, the more distant counties surrounding Atlanta may soon experience many of the same types of traffic and crowding problems currently facing Gwinnett County.

Funding for education will become increasingly difficult in suburban Georgia. These areas are among the fastest growing in the nation. Educational funding, however, is primarily generated from a residential tax base. Rapid

expansion requires major capital construction with the full burden of financing the projects assumed by home owners, some of whom relocated in search of lower taxes. Further complicating the situation are areas with large numbers of mobile homes which are taxed differently from traditional housing units. Attracting industries to these areas may face opposition because of the negative consequences perceived from mixing commercial and residential development.

GROWING NONMETROPOLITAN

The third identified area is growing nonmetropolitan Georgia. These areas are located across the state. They have experienced recent population growth primarily through in-migration in North Georgia or natural increase in South Georgia. They have either scenic beauty or a physical landscape that makes them attractive to tourists. Some are located near a military base (Camden County, Lowndes County and Liberty County) and usually possess a regional growth center capable of sustaining economic growth. Areas like Grady County in South Georgia have grown because of their proximity to the metropolitan center of Tallahassee, Florida. Banks County in North Georgia has benefited by its location on I-85.

Future planning in this area, as in suburban Georgia, will focus on land use. If these areas want to continue to attract new residents, comprehensive land use plans must be developed. A problem exists because new residents often want to reduce or stop growth while long term residents desire the jobs and economic prosperity that accompanies growth. These differences frequently lead to conflicts that pit newcomers against locals.

DECLINING NONMETROPOLITAN

The last area identified is declining nonmetropolitan Georgia, perhaps the area in greatest peril. It is characterized by long-term population loss, lack of employment opportunities, low levels of infrastructure and governmental development, a legacy of low educational attainment and skill development and limited access to health care facilities. In these areas the high out-migration of the working age population continues to leave behind a large number of children and older residents who require extensive governmental services. Job creation in these areas must be a major priority if further decline is to be prevented.

The social, economic and demographic complexity of a state as large as Georgia requires individualized solutions for specialized problems. Areas characterized by nonmetropolitan decline need innovative approaches for improving an economy which is structured around a boom or bust agricultural sector.

The key ingredient in any economic or educational development strategy, be it in urban or rural Georgia, is leadership. Sustained efforts to form networks of competent, informed leaders who are aware of the long term causes and solutions to community based problems represent an important step toward developing Georgia's true potential.

FOOTNOTES

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2 Falk, William W., and Lyson, Thomas A. 1988. **High Tech, Low Tech, No Tech: Recent Industrial and Occupational Change in the South.** New York: State University of New York Press.

3 Brooks, Rusty and Bachtel, Douglas C. 1983. "Georgia's Changing Farm Population". **Issues Facing Georgia**, Volume I, Number 6. Tifton, GA: Rural Development, The University of Georgia.

4 Bates, Hortense L., Moore, Allen B., and Bachtel, Douglas C. 1986. "Georgia's Changing Age Structure". **Issues Facing Georgia**, Volume 2, Number 5. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia.

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11 Zuiches, James J. 1982. "Residential Preferences". Don A. Dillman and Daryl J. Hobbs (eds.) in **Rural Society in the U.S.: Issues for the 1980s**. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

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13 **Agriculture 2000.** 1983. Battelle Memorial Institute. Columbus, OH: Columbus Laboratories.

14 **Revitalizing Rural America**. 1986. A report prepared for the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin.

15 Falk, William W., and Lyson, Thomas A. 1988. **High Tech, Low Tech, No Tech: Recent Industrial and Occupational Change in the South.** New York: State University of New York Press.

16 Newitt, Jane. 1984. "Where Do Suburbanites Come From?". **American Demographics**, Volume 6, Number 6.

17 A metropolitan county is a county that is part of a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA). All other counties are nonmetropolitan counties. In 1988 Georgia had 38 metropolitan counties and 121 nonmetropolitan counties. A general concept of a metropolitan area is one of a large population nucleus, together with adjacent communities which have a high degree of economic and social integration with that nucleus. Each MSA has one or more central counties containing the area's main population concentration: an urbanized are with at least 50,000 inhabitants. An MSA may also include outlying counties which have close economic and social relationships with the central counties.

18 Hite, James C. 1987. "Agriculture and Rural Development Issues in the South: Historical Perspective and Overview". David Mulkey and Rodney L. Clouser (eds.) in **Agriculture and Rural Development Issues in the South**. Mississippi State, MS: Southern Rural Development Center Farm Foundation.

19 A farm, as defined for the 1974 final reports and the 1978 and 1982 census, is any place from which $1,000 or more of agricultural products were sold or normally would have been sold during the census year. The following definition (used for the 1959, 1964 and 1969 censuses, and for the 1974 preliminary county reports) counted a farm as any place with less than 10 acres from which $250 or more of agricultural products were sold normally or would have been sold during the census year, or any place of 10 acres or more from which $50 or more of agricultural products were sold or normally would have been sold during the census year.

20 The rural farm population is comprised of farmers, their wives and children.

21 Urban consists of all incorporated and unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more.

22 Hepburn, Lawrence. 1987. **Contemporary Georgia**. Carl Vinson Institute of Government. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia.

23 Bates, Hortense L., Moore, Allen B., and Bachtel, Douglas C. 1986. "Georgia's Changing Age Structure". **Issues Facing Georgia**, Volume 2, Number 5. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia.

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25 Additional insight concerning transfer payments can be gained by the following anecdote used by Senator Earnest Hollings of South Carolina to describe transfer payments:

"A veteran returning from Korea went to college on the GI bill; bought his house with an FHA loan; saw his kids born in a VA hospital; started a business with an SBA loan; got electricity from TVA and later water from an EPA project. His parents retired to a farm on Social Security, got electricity from REA and soil testing from USDA. When his father became ill, the family was saved from financial ruin by Medicare and a life was saved with a drug developed through NIH. His kids participated in the school lunch program, learned physics from teachers trained in an NSF program and went through college with guaranteed student loans. He drove to work on the Interstate and moored his boat in a channel dredged by the Corps of Engineers. When the floods hit, he took Amtrak to Washington to apply for disaster relief and spent some time at the Smithsonian Museum. Then one day he wrote

his Congressman an angry letter asking the government to get off his back and complaining about paying taxes for all those programs created for ungrateful people."

26 "Education in a Changing South: New Policies, Patterns and Programs". 1987. Report on the Continuing Conference of the Southern Education Foundation, Inc., Tough Choices for Educational Equity. Atlanta, GA: Southern Education Foundation.

27 Personal communication from Georgia Department of Corrections, Information Services, 2 Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive, Atlanta, GA 30334. Telephone (404) 656-4605.

28 Metropolitan counties are defined as having a central city with a population of 50,000 or more inside of a county with a population of 100,000 or more.

Suburban counties are located within a Metropolitan Statistical Area and have one third or more of their workforce commuting to the central city.

Nonmetropolitan growth counties are counties that increased in population between 1986 and 1987.

Nonmetropolitan decline counties are counties that lost population between 1986 and 1987.

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DADE
CATOOSA
WHITFIELD
MURRAY
FANNIN
UNION
TOWNS
RABUN
WALKER
GILMER
WHITE
HABERSHAM
STEPHENS
HART
CHATTOOGA
GORDON
PICKENS
DAWSON
LUMPKIN
FRANKLIN
HALL
BANKS
FLOYD
BARTOW
CHEROKEE
FORSYTH
JACKSON
MADISON
ELBERT
POLK
PAULDING
COBB
GWINNETT
BARROW
CLARKE
OGLETHORPE
OCONEE
WILKES
LINCOLN
HARALSON
DOUGLAS
FULTON
DE KALB
ROCKDALE
WALTON
MORGAN
GREENE
TALIAFERRO
COLUMBIA
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INFANT MORTALITY IN GEORGIA AND THE NATION

by
Everett S. Lee
and
Douglas C. Bachtel

INTRODUCTION

Among industrialized nations, the United States, once a leader in expectation of life at birth, now ranks near the bottom. One reason for this decline involves infant mortality. At least 16 industrialized nations, including East Germany, have lower rates of infant mortality (deaths under the age of 1 per 1,000 live births); so do Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and Spain.[1] Japan, which in recent years has led the world in economic growth, has the world's lowest rate -- 5.3, little more than half the U.S. rate of 10.4 in 1986 (see Table 1).

Just as there is variation among nations, there is also variation among states, and within states among counties. In 1986 Georgia ranked almost at the bottom -- 47th among the 50 states for infant mortality rate[2] (see Table 2). Within Georgia, 13 counties have an infant mortality rate more than twice that of the United States and five times that of Japan (see Table 3). There is also variation among ethnic groups; the infant mortality rates for black Georgians and black Americans are about twice those for whites. The rates, however, for Japanese-Americans (4.0), Chinese-Americans (4.7), and Filipino-Americans (4.3) are less than half those for American whites and are even lower than those for Japan.[2]

The reasons why American infant mortality rates have not fallen like those in most European and some Asian countries are largely the same as those which have troubled the U.S. economy. Americans have been lulled into a state of complacency by a false sense of technological and managerial superiority coupled with an unwillingness to make the necessary investments in education, research and infrastructure.[3] To regain our position as a leader in health, those areas where the nation is still doing well and those where it is lagging must be examined. At all times an international perspective must be applied, and achieving a state or national average can not be assumed to be satisfactory.

This report presents a geographic analysis of infant mortality in Georgia. Infant mortality rates for the total, black and white population are presented on a county basis and compared to the state and national average. Once they are identified the most important of all questions is raised: Why has the infant mortality rate in Georgia been consistently higher than the national average?

Comparisons are never as simple as they seem. In fact, comparisons among nations, states and counties can be misleading unless a host of factors such as time, place, demographic composition, social and economic status, and variations in reporting are taken into consideration. It is especially important to note that the lowest rates are found in countries or areas with homogeneous populations such as Japan, the world's leader, or Finland, Europe's leader. The United States has a diverse population with all races and many cultures represented. Therefore, the United States should not be expected to equal the achievements of Scandinavia or Taiwan in reducing infant deaths as long as some groups lag far behind the general population in education, income and acceptance. Thus, wherever blacks, American Indians or Hispanics form a large part of the population or wherever the bulk of the population, regardless of race, is poor or uneducated, it is not unusual to find relatively high rates of infant mortality.

RACE AND INFANT DEATH

Figure 1 reveals infant mortality rates for the United States from 1915 through 1986. Rates are shown separately for whites and for other races combined. Blacks so dominate the second group that the rate for other races can be taken as the rate for blacks. This means, however, an underestimation of the true rate for blacks. In 1986, for example, the national rate for blacks was 18; that for the combined group for blacks and other races was 16.

While the information in Figure 1 shows that rates for blacks have always been higher than those for whites, it also shows that enormous progress has been made within the past 50 years. At the beginning of World War I, about one in five black babies born in the United States died before the age of one, as did one in ten white babies. In just 71 years there was a reduction of 90 percent for both whites and blacks -- from 100 to nine for whites, and from 180 to 18 for blacks. The decrease, however, was not uniform for either race. For both, long periods of stagnation or gradual decline were interspersed with sharp falls. The periods of greatest improvement were those marked by war. From 1915 to 1920, the period of World War I, the rate for whites fell by 24 percent, that for blacks by 40 percent. Again in the six-year period of World War II, 1940-1946, both black and white rates decreased by 30 percent. In 1915 there was an 82 point gap between the rates for whites and blacks; by 1920 it had been cut to 36. Between 1940 and 1946 that gap was narrowed from 31 to 18 and now stands at nine. In sum, since 1915 the rate for whites has fallen by 91 deaths per 1,000 live births and that for blacks by 162. Even so, today a black baby is almost twice as likely as a white baby to die before the age of one.

STATE AND NATION

In Figures 2, 3 and 4, rates for total, white and black populations of Georgia are compared with those for the United States and the District of Columbia. The nation's capital is included because it has a rate of infant mortality for the total population that is higher than that for any state. Of late Washington also has become known for its hordes of homeless and has been dubbed "the murder capital of the United States." Another appropriate title might be "the city of infant death."

Since Georgia did not register births and deaths until 1928, earlier rates are not available. The rates, however, for the total population of Georgia (see Figure 2) have always been higher than those for the nation -- by as much as 20 points in the pre-World War II years. During the war years, however, that difference was reduced sharply; in 1986 the gap was only two points. Perhaps more interesting is the comparison with the District of Columbia. After World War II the rate for the nation's capital rose sharply and has remained well above the rate for Georgia since the middle 1950s.

For white Georgians the rate has always been above that for the nation (see Figure 3). Only in recent years has it been below the rate for the District of Columbia. Before World War II there were years when the rate for whites in Georgia was about 30 points above that for the nation, but with World War II the difference was greatly decreased. Today it stands at only five-tenths of a point.

For black Georgians the comparisons are very different. Rates for blacks in Georgia have never been much different from those for black Americans and before World War II were sometimes lower. In the early years rates for blacks in the District of Columbia fluctuated widely because of the small number of black births. Since the middle 1970s, rates for blacks in the District of Columbia have been higher than those for Georgia or the nation.

In 1986 the only states with higher rates of infant mortality in the total population than Georgia were South Carolina and Alabama (see Table 2). The low rating of 48th among 50 changes radically, however, when separate comparisons are made for whites and blacks. Fifteen states had higher rates of white infant mortality than Georgia, and among them were Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, Delaware, Idaho, and Washington. Therefore, Georgia ranks 35th from the top for white infant mortality.

A similar situation occurs when comparing the rates for black Georgians. Of the 47 states for which 1986 rates were published for blacks, 15 states had higher rates than Georgia. Among these were Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan. Thus, rather than being near the bottom, Georgia was tied with Connecticut for 31st among 47 states.

The reason for the large difference in Georgia's ranking regarding the total, white and black infant mortality rates is the high number of black births in the state. In Georgia, approximately 25 percent of the population is black, yet blacks account for 35 percent of all births. Thus, when the black and white rates are averaged, they create an overall total lower ranking.

VARIATION AMONG GEORGIA COUNTIES

Racial differences must be kept in mind when comparing rates among counties. For the United States as a whole 16 percent of births are black; for Georgia, however, that proportion rises to 35 percent and for some Georgia counties 75 or 80 percent of all births are to black women. Changes in county rankings occur when the analysis switches from considerations of the total population to the more revealing analysis of rates specific for race.

When examining counties with as few as 2,000 inhabitants and ten births in a given year, annual rates cannot be used because small numbers of births make them statistically unreliable. Therefore, in this study the live births and infant deaths for the 12-year period 1976-87 were used to compute an average annual rate. Even so, reliable rates for 11 counties could not be computed because they had fewer than 1,000 births in the 12-year study period (see Table 3). Therefore, on the maps that follow the blank spaces indicate counties where there were fewer than 1,000 births over the twelve years.

Figure 5 shows the rates for the total population and omits only 11 of the 159 counties. It is immediately apparent that most counties with low rates are the suburban counties of the Atlanta Metropolitan Statistical Area[4] or the mountain or valley counties north of Interstate-85. But across the state from northeast to southwest is an almost unbroken stretch of counties with very high rates of infant mortality. Rates are highest in the southwest, and three counties -- Stewart, Randolph, and Terrell -- have higher rates than Washington, D.C. Of special interest in South Georgia are Wilcox and Wilkinson, counties where income is low and the percentage of black births high. Though surrounded by counties with high rates of infant mortality for the total population, these counties have rates that are among the ten lowest for the state.

Information in Figure 6 shows that North Georgia is an area of high rates for whites, the main exceptions being Rabun and Catoosa Counties. Union, a county where there were no black births in the 12-year period, had the highest rate in the state for whites. Offsetting this view for whites is the high number of counties that have low rates. Lowest of all is the rate for Oconee County, which is suburban to Athens. Its rate of 5.4 is barely above that for Japan. Fifteen counties have rates that are below eight per 1,000. Among the states only Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey have lower rates for whites.

In general, the counties with low rates for whites are metropolitan suburban counties, but there are surprising exceptions. Bulloch County in East Central Georgia is one. With a per capita income only two-thirds of that for the nation and with almost half of its adult population without a high school degree in 1980, Bulloch had an infant mortality rate for whites of only 6.8, the third lowest in the state.

Rates for blacks are shown in Figure 7. Here the counties of North Georgia are mostly blank because of the low number or absence of black births. The counties for which black rates could be computed are mostly metropolitan or in the middle of the state. Especially high infant mortality rates are found in the southwestern part of the state and other counties with high rates stretch into the Piedmont. Twenty-two counties have higher rates than the District of Columbia. Grady County, on the Florida border, has a rate of 38 per 1,000 live births, and rates above 30 are found in Randolph and Terrell Counties and across the state in Greene County.

Counties with relatively low or moderate rates for blacks tend to be metropolitan, but there are nonmetropolitan counties with surprisingly low rates for blacks. Wilkinson County experienced only 9.6 deaths per 1,000 live births of blacks, a rate that compares favorably with the rate for whites in Ohio or with rates for the total population of Ireland or Italy.

Also of interest are the counties where rates for whites are low while those for blacks are high. In Bulloch County, for example, the rate for whites is 6.8 while that for blacks, 22.5, is three times as high. Similar differences are found in Monroe, Screven, Morgan and Clarke County.

ACCOUNTING FOR DIFFERENCES AMONG COUNTIES

Now the question: Why was the infant mortality rate for blacks so low in Wilkinson County, even though the usual socioeconomic indicators would have pointed toward a high rate? Why, in Clarke County, with a research university, two hospitals, and a large number of doctors, is infant mortality for blacks two and a half times that for whites? A preliminary explanation for Georgia's standing in the nation and for the wide variation among counties can be developed without a detailed, case-by-case investigation.

The commonly advanced explanation for Georgia's standing in the nation and for the wide variation among counties is the lesser availability of prenatal care to disadvantaged segments of society. Others include the high proportion of low weight births, births to unmarried mothers and births to mothers who are themselves children.

These are all telling explanations, but there is also a basic underlying cause. That is education, the major factor in determining income and style of living. It is also through education that expectant mothers are made aware of facilities, the need for proper care of infants, and the dangers of drinking, smoking and drugs. That was brought forcefully to one of the authors of this report at an international conference called several years ago to investigate the causes of high rates of infant mortality in the United States. When the question was raised as to what would be necessary to lower the U.S. rate to that of The Netherlands, a Dutch scientist answered tersely, "Three generations of educated women."

That now appears to be an exaggeration. Reducing infant mortality can be accomplished with only one generation of educated mothers, as has been shown in Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Unfortunately, the United States and Georgia are still far from universal literacy. That will be expensive and will take years to achieve.

In the meantime, concerted efforts are needed to enlist the aid of health providers and community, educational and religious leaders in a campaign to reduce births to the unmarried and to teenagers. Their children constitute a high proportion of births and tend to be at higher risk. In 1987 about 11 percent of white births and 60 percent of black births in Georgia were to unmarried women. More than four percent of white births and 23 percent of black births were to unmarried teenagers. These figures would have been much higher were it not for the high rates of induced abortion among such potential mothers. For example, in 1987 there were 8,403 induced abortions in Georgia for women under 20 years of age - 4,859 for whites and 3,405 for blacks.

About ten percent of infant deaths occur in the first hour after birth, forty percent within the first day, and more than 60 percent within the first month. This emphasizes the need for outreach programs for poor or undereducated pregnant women, for accessible prenatal and obstetrical care, and for pediatric care and advice following birth. Additional reports on this subject will be issued as information becomes available.

FOOTNOTES

1 **The 1989 Britannica Book of the Year,** Encyclopaedia Britannica,Chicago, 1989.

2 U.S. Bureau of the Census. **Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1987,** (107th edition), Washington, D.C., 1987.

3 Peter F. Drucker, "The Changed World Economy," **Foreign Affairs,** Vol. 64, No. 4. Spring, 1986. pp. 768-791.

4 In 1989 Georgia had 38 metropolitan and 121 nonmetropolitan counties and eight Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA's). The general concept of a Metropolitan Statistical Area is one of a large population nucleus together with adjacent counties which have a high degree of economic and social integration with that nucleus. These areas are typically surrounded by nonmetropolitan counties. Areas qualifying for recognition as Metropolitan Statistical Areas have either a city with a population of at least 50,000 or a Bureau of the Census urbanized area of at least 50,000 and a total Metropolitan Statistical Area population of at least 100,000.

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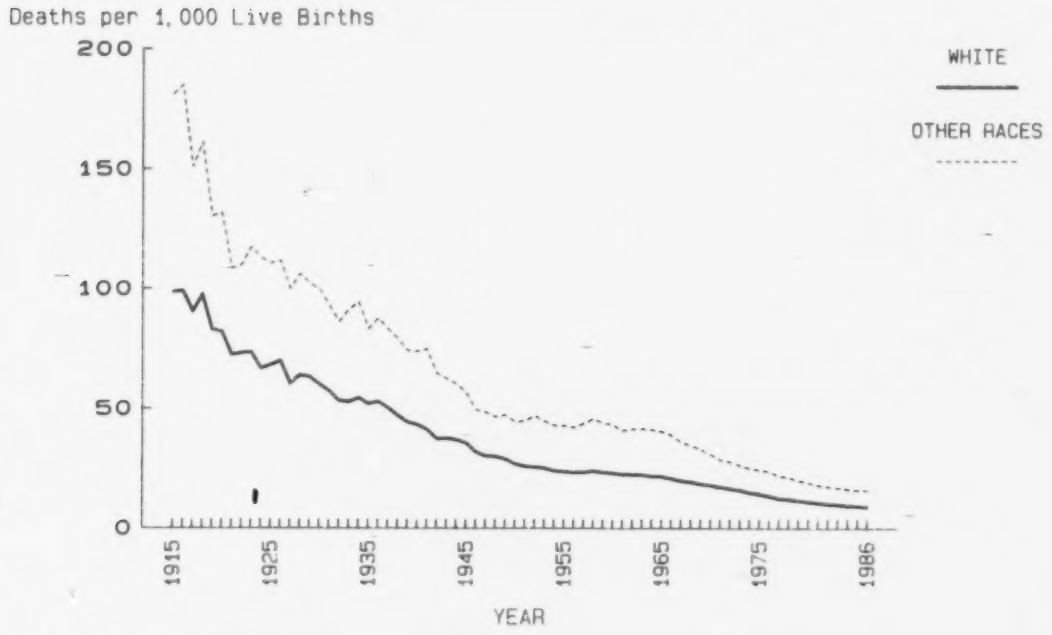
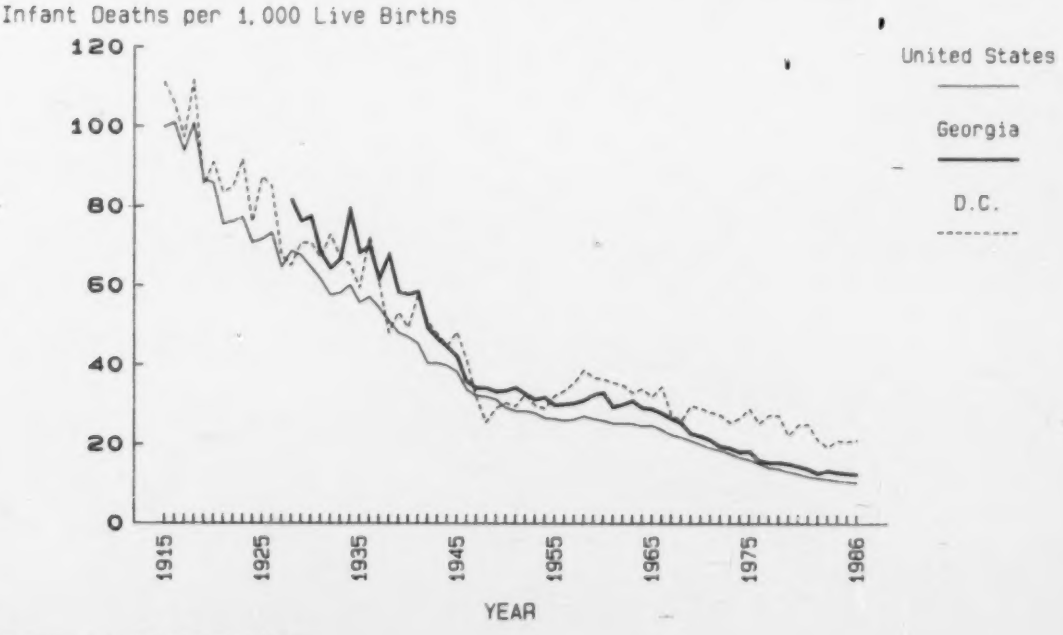
Special thanks to Sue Boatright and Julie Koch for preparing the data and graphs and to Faye Scoggins for her typing and editorial assistance.

FIGURE 1
INFANT MORTALITY RATES BY RACE
UNITED STATES: 1915-1986



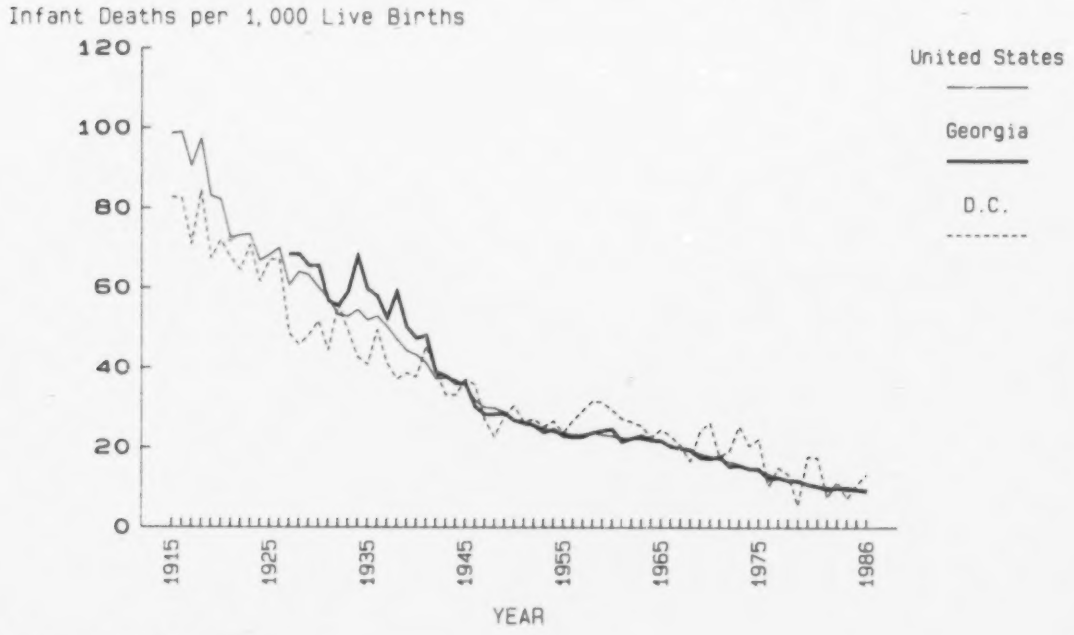
Source U.S. Vital Statistics

FIGURE 2
INFANT MORTALITY RATES: TOTAL POPULATION
GEORGIA, U.S., D.C.: 1915-1986



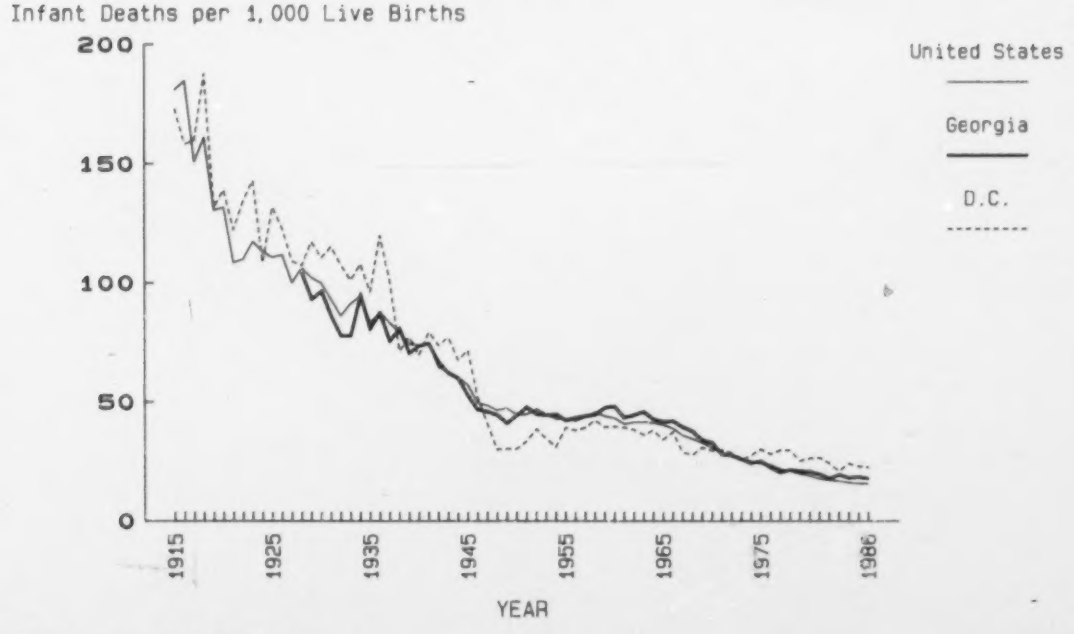
Source U.S. Vital Statistics

FIGURE 3
INFANT MORTALITY RATES: WHITES
GEORGIA, U.S., D.C.: 1915-1986



Source U.S. Vital Statistics

FIGURE 4
INFANT MORTALITY RATES: BLACKS AND OTHER RACES
GEORGIA, U.S., D.C.: 1915-1986

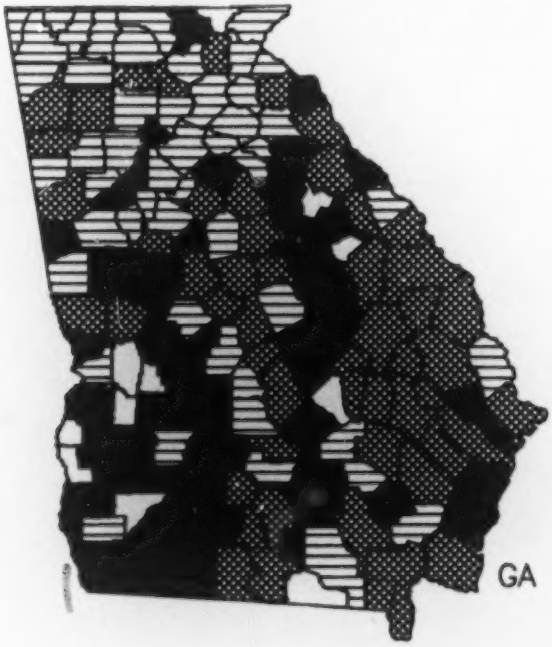


Source U.S. Vital Statistics

Figure 5

TOTAL INFANT DEATH RATES

1976–1987 Average



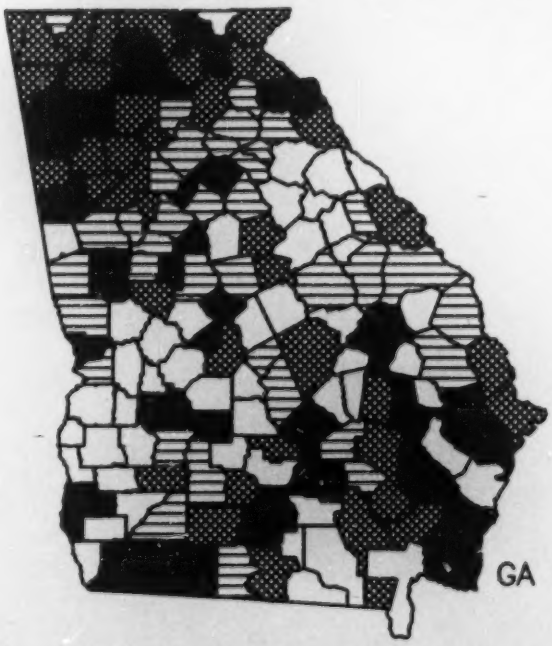
7.6 – 12.9
13.0 – 16.5
16.6 – 28.5
INSUFFICIENT DATA

1986 U.S. RATE = 10.4
1986 GA RATE = 12.5
GA 1976–87 AVERAGE = 14.2

Figure 6

WHITE INFANT DEATH RATES

1976–1987 Average



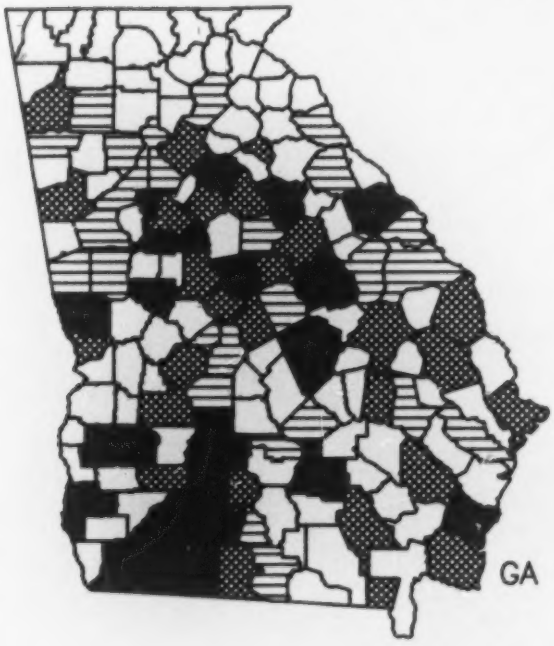
5.4 – 9.6
9.7 – 12.0
12.1 – 18.2
INSUFFICIENT DATA

1986 U.S. RATE = 8.9
1986 GA RATE = 9.4
GA 1976–87 AVERAGE = 10.7

Figure 7

BLACK INFANT DEATH RATES

1976–1987 Average



1986 U.S. RATE = 18.0

1986 GA RATE = 18.4

GA 1976–87 AVERAGE = 20.6

Table 1

Selected Infant Death Rates: 1986

Australia	8.8	Italy	10.3
Austria	10.3	Japan	5.3
Brunei	7.4	Malaysia	27.0
Canada	7.9	Netherlands, The	6.4
China	33.0	New Zealand	11.2
Congo	81.0	Norway	8.5
Cuba	13.3	Pakistan	120.0
Denmark	8.2	Poland	17.3
Egypt	70.5	Singapore	7.4
Finland	5.8	Sweden	5.9
France	7.6	Switzerland	6.8
Germany, East	9.2	Taiwan	6.3
Germany, West	8.9	U.S.S.R.	25.4
Hong Kong	7.5	United Kingdom	9.5
Ireland	10.1	United States	10.2

*Deaths Under the Age of 1 per 1,000 live births

Source: 1989 Britannica Book of the Year, Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Chicago.

Table 2

Infant Mortality Rates by State and Race: 1986

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
U.S.	10.4	8.9	18.0
ALABAMA	13.3	9.8	20.0
ALASKA	10.8	10.1	11.0
ARIZONA	9.4	9.0	14.7
ARKANSAS	10.3	8.9	15.3
CALIFORNIA	8.9	8.6	16.2
COLORADO	8.6	8.3	17.2
CONNECTICUT	9.1	7.8	18.4
DELAWARE	11.5	9.6	17.6
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	21.1	13.3	24.0
FLORIDA	11.0	8.8	18.2
GEORGIA	12.5	9.4	18.4
HAWAII	9.3	8.6	11.9
IDAHO	11.3	11.3	26.3
ILLINOIS	12.1	9.3	22.3
INDIANA	11.3	10.1	21.5
IOWA	8.5	8.3	13.9
KANSAS	8.9	8.4	15.0
KENTUCKY	9.8	9.6	12.7
LOUISIANA	11.9	8.7	17.0
MAINE	8.8	9.0	0.0
MARYLAND	11.7	9.5	17.3
MASSACHUSETTS	8.5	7.7	18.5
MICHIGAN	11.4	9.0	22.8
MINNESOTA	9.2	8.9	16.4
MISSISSIPPI	12.4	9.0	16.2
MISSOURI	10.7	9.3	18.5
MONTANA	9.6	8.7	0.0
NEBRASKA	10.1	9.2	20.3
NEVADA	9.1	8.6	15.9
NEW HAMPSHIRE	9.1	9.1	16.1
NEW JERSEY	9.8	7.8	18.5
NEW MEXICO	9.5	9.0	17.4
NEW YORK	10.7	9.2	16.7
NORTH CAROLINA	11.5	9.2	17.4
NORTH DAKOTA	8.4	8.3	0.0
OHIO	10.6	9.5	17.4
OKLAHOMA	10.4	10.1	17.3
OREGON	9.4	9.3	18.8
PENNSYLVANIA	10.2	8.6	19.8
RHODE ISLAND	9.4	8.8	16.7
SOUTH CAROLINA	13.2	10.1	18.1
SOUTH DAKOTA	13.3	10.4	25.2
TENNESSEE	11.0	8.7	18.6
TEXAS	9.5	8.6	15.9
UTAH	8.6	8.6	9.3
VERMONT	10.0	9.7	38.5
VIRGINIA	11.1	9.0	18.0
WASHINGTON	9.8	9.8	13.5
WEST VIRGINIA	10.2	9.6	25.9
WISCONSIN	9.2	8.5	17.3
WYOMING	10.9	10.8	0.0

*Deaths Under the Age of 1 per 1,000 live births

Table 3

Live Births, Infant Deaths and Infant Death Rates: 1976-1987

	1976-1987 12 Years of Live Births					1976-1987 12 Years of Infant Deaths					1976-1987 Infant Death Rate For 12 Year Period		
	Total	White	Percent White	Black	Percent Black	Total	White	Percent White	Black	Percent Black	Total	White	Black
APPLING	3031	2095	69.1	930	30.7	45	24	53.3	21	46.7	14.8	11.5	--
ATKINSON	1369	873	63.8	493	36.0	26	13	50.0	13	50.0	19.0	--	--
BACON	1939	1475	76.1	462	23.8	21	13	61.9	8	38.1	10.8	8.8	--
BAKER	689	316	45.9	373	54.1	9	3	33.3	6	66.7	--	--	--
BALDWIN	6314	3220	51.0	3074	48.7	98	33	33.7	65	66.3	15.5	10.2	21.1
BANKS	1230	1177	95.7	51	4.1	10	9	90.0	1	10.0	8.1	7.6	--
• BARROW	4350	3553	81.7	777	17.9	53	30	56.6	23	43.4	12.2	8.4	--
BARTOW	8494	7409	87.2	1065	12.5	112	92	82.1	20	17.9	13.2	12.4	18.8
BEN HILL	3428	2084	60.8	1341	39.1	49	23	46.9	26	53.1	14.3	11.0	19.4
BERRIEN	2509	1992	79.4	512	20.4	37	31	83.8	6	16.2	14.7	15.6	--
• BIBB	28474	14063	49.4	14307	50.2	466	176	37.8	290	62.2	16.4	12.5	20.3
BLECKLEY	1673	1007	60.2	658	39.3	23	8	34.8	15	65.2	13.7	7.9	--
BRANTLEY	1516	1358	89.6	153	10.1	17	14	82.4	3	17.6	11.2	10.3	--
BROOKS	3026	1224	40.4	1798	59.4	50	11	22.0	39	78.0	16.5	9.0	21.7
BRYAN	2546	1838	72.2	703	27.6	45	25	55.6	20	44.4	17.7	13.6	--
BULLOCH	6313	3670	58.1	2628	41.6	84	25	29.8	59	70.2	13.3	6.8	22.5
BURKE	4655	1665	35.8	2988	64.2	64	13	20.3	51	79.7	13.7	7.8	17.1
• BUTTS	2610	1306	50.0	1296	49.7	53	20	37.7	33	62.3	20.3	15.3	25.5
CALHOUN	1219	347	28.5	867	71.1	21	3	14.3	18	85.7	17.2	--	--
CAMDEN	3654	2551	69.8	1066	29.2	55	33	60.0	22	40.0	15.1	12.9	20.6
CANDLER	1183	695	58.7	483	40.8	17	6	35.3	11	64.7	14.4	--	--
CARROLL	11197	8612	76.9	2565	22.9	169	111	65.7	58	34.3	15.1	12.9	22.6
• CATOOSA	6192	6087	98.3	82	1.3	49	47	95.9	2	4.1	7.9	7.7	--
CHARLTON	1552	910	58.6	642	41.4	21	6	28.6	15	71.4	13.5	--	--
• CHATHAM	44460	23167	52.1	20895	47.0	691	252	36.5	437	63.2	15.5	10.9	20.9
• CHATTAHOOCHEE	1954	1268	64.9	612	31.3	20	10	50.0	10	50.0	10.2	7.9	--
CHATTOOGA	3567	3208	89.9	352	9.9	37	34	91.9	3	8.1	10.4	10.6	--
• CHEROKEE	12567	12270	97.6	266	2.1	146	141	96.6	5	3.4	11.6	11.5	--
• CLARKE	12354	7431	60.2	4740	38.4	156	60	38.5	96	61.5	12.6	8.1	20.3
CLAY	678	194	28.6	483	71.2	16	3	18.8	13	81.3	--	--	--
• CLAYTON	30937	26564	85.9	3920	12.7	358	263	73.5	91	25.4	11.6	9.9	23.2
CLINCH	1367	785	57.4	581	42.5	16	7	43.8	8	50.0	11.7	--	--
• COBB	59419	54249	91.3	4556	7.7	621	533	85.8	83	13.4	10.5	9.8	18.2
COFFEE	5656	3757	66.4	1886	33.3	108	60	55.6	48	44.4	19.1	16.0	25.5
COLQUITT	6910	4437	64.2	2466	35.7	118	49	41.5	69	58.5	17.1	11.0	28.0
• COLUMBIA	9745	7971	81.8	1626	16.7	115	78	67.8	37	32.2	11.8	9.8	22.8
COOK	2664	1570	58.9	1089	40.9	38	21	55.3	17	44.7	14.3	13.4	15.6
• COWETA	8446	5457	64.6	2971	35.2	93	52	55.9	41	44.1	11.0	9.5	13.8
CRAWFORD	1305	703	53.9	601	46.1	12	6	50.0	6	50.0	9.2	--	--
CRISP	4465	1962	43.9	2499	56.0	86	29	33.7	57	66.3	19.3	14.8	22.8
• DADE	2127	2103	98.9	17	0.8	24	24	100.0	0	0.0	11.3	11.4	--
DAWSON	1113	1107	99.5	1	0.1	16	16	100.0	0	0.0	14.4	14.5	--
DECATUR	5199	2709	52.1	2481	47.7	100	37	37.0	63	63.0	19.2	13.7	25.4
• DEKALB	86022	47319	55.0	37258	43.3	1100	454	41.3	634	57.6	12.8	9.6	17.0
DODGE	2806	1815	64.7	983	35.0	41	13	31.7	28	68.3	14.6	7.2	--
DOOLY	2329	836	35.9	1491	64.0	39	10	25.6	28	71.8	16.7	--	18.8
• DOUGHERTY	22457	10147	45.2	12259	54.6	382	104	27.2	277	72.5	17.0	10.2	22.6
• DOUGLAS	10895	10124	92.9	724	6.6	135	121	89.6	14	10.4	12.4	12.0	--
EARLY	2774	1089	39.3	1682	60.6	64	18	28.1	46	71.9	23.1	16.5	27.3
ECHOLS	351	266	75.8	85	24.2	6	3	50.0	3	50.0	--	--	--
• EFFINGHAM	3684	2792	75.8	883	24.0	46	31	67.4	15	32.6	12.5	11.1	--
ELBERT	3511	2000	57.0	1505	42.9	50	22	44.0	28	56.0	14.2	11.0	18.6
EMANUEL	4613	2488	53.9	2122	46.0	76	31	40.8	45	59.2	16.5	12.5	21.2
EVANS	1716	927	54.0	789	46.0	23	8	34.8	15	65.2	13.4	--	--
FANNIN	2209	2203	99.7	5	0.2	23	23	100.0	0	0.0	10.4	10.4	--
• FAYETTE	5281	4934	93.4	297	5.6	40	34	85.0	4	10.0	7.6	6.9	--
FLOYD	13230	10677	80.7	2520	19.0	188	137	72.9	51	27.1	14.2	12.8	20.2
• FORSYTH	5433	5409	99.6	12	0.2	51	51	100.0	0	0.0	9.4	9.4	--
FRANKLIN	2494	2048	82.1	441	17.7	39	26	66.7	13	33.3	15.6	12.7	--
• FULTON	116034	38754	33.4	76214	65.7	1988	447	22.5	1534	77.2	17.1	11.5	20.1
GILMER	1923	1917	99.7	3	0.2	24	24	100.0	0	0.0	12.5	12.5	--
GLASCOCK	347	271	78.1	76	21.9	4	2	50.0	2	50.0	--	--	--
GLYNN	10283	6610	64.3	3652	35.5	183	91	49.7	92	50.3	17.8	13.8	25.2
GORDON	5579	5264	94.4	302	5.4	66	58	87.9	8	12.1	11.8	11.0	--
GRADY	3642	2028	55.7	1609	44.2	88	27	30.7	61	69.3	24.2	13.3	37.9
GREENE	2590	871	33.6	1715	66.2	63	7	11.1	56	88.9	24.3	--	32.7
• GWINNETT	41720	39870	95.6	1342	3.2	373	343	92.0	28	7.5	8.9	8.6	20.9
HABERSHAM	3899	3738	95.9	126	3.2	44	40	90.9	3	6.8	11.3	10.7	--
HALL	14249	12418	87.1	1776	12.5	154	125	81.2	28	18.2	10.8	10.1	15.8
HANCOCK	2012	210	10.4	1802	89.6	40	0	0.0	40	100.0	19.9	--	22.2
HARALSON	3237	2920	90.2	309	9.5	41	33	80.5	8	19.5	12.7	11.3	--
HARRIS	2576	1571	61.0	1001	38.9	38	15	39.5	23	60.5	14.8	9.5	23.0
HART	2880	1979	68.7	898	31.2	56	26	46.4	30	53.6	19.4	13.1	--
HEARD	1081	794	73.5	285	26.4	23	16	69.6	7	30.4	21.3	--	--
• HENRY	7531	6055	80.4	1446	19.2	85	53	62.4	32	37.6	11.3	8.8	22.1
• HOUSTON	15107	10631	70.4	4317	28.6	167	104	62.3	63	37.7	11.1	9.8	14.6
IRWIN	1637	786	48.0	850	51.9	18	4	22.2	14	77.8	11.0	--	--
• JACKSON	4756	4148	87.2	602	12.7	50	35	70.0	15	30.0	10.5	8.4	--
JASPER	1373	685	49.9	682	49.7	17	4	23.5	13	76.5	12.4	--	--
JEFF DAVIS	2224	1806	81.2	412	18.5	23	14	60.9	9	39.1	10.3	7.8	--
JEFFERSON	3835	1220	31.8	2608	68.0	60	8	13.3	52	86.7	15.6	6.6	19.9
JENKINS	1812	816	45.0	993	54.8	27	11	40.7	16	59.3	14.9	--	--
JOHNSON	1629	833	51.1	796	48.9	28	10	35.7	18	64.3	17.2	--	--
• JONES	3255	2240	68.8	1010	31.0	47	21	44.7	26	55.3	14.4	9.4	25.7
LAMAR	2059	1138	55.3	918	44.6	41	19	46.3	22	53.7	19.9	16.7	--

Table 3 (Continued)

Live Births, Infant Deaths and Infant Death Rates: 1976-1987

	1976-1987 12 Years of Live Births					1976-1987 12 Years of Infant Deaths					1976-1987 Infant Death Rate For 12 Year Period		
	Total	White	Percent White	Black	Percent Black	Total	White	Percent White	Black	Percent Black	Total	White	Black
LANIER	1140	754	66.1	381	33.4	23	14	60.9	9	39.1	20.2	--	--
LAURENS	7295	3984	54.6	3297	45.2	131	43	32.8	88	67.2	18.0	10.8	26.7
* LEE	2628	1848	70.3	778	29.6	32	14	43.8	18	56.3	12.2	7.6	--
LIBERTY	12069	7164	59.4	4459	36.9	167	94	56.3	71	42.5	13.8	13.1	15.9
LINCOLN	1195	538	45.0	657	55.0	23	7	30.4	16	69.6	19.2	--	--
LONG	1315	984	74.8	316	24.0	21	15	71.4	6	28.6	16.0	--	--
LOWNDES	14792	8914	60.3	5740	38.8	200	95	47.5	105	52.5	13.5	10.7	18.3
LUMPKIN	1780	1729	97.1	43	2.4	20	19	95.0	1	5.0	11.2	11.0	--
MACON	2866	963	33.6	1899	66.3	52	9	17.3	43	82.7	18.1	--	22.6
* MADISON	3181	2732	85.9	447	14.1	29	23	79.3	6	20.7	9.1	8.4	--
MARION	914	385	42.1	529	57.9	21	5	23.8	16	76.2	--	--	--
* MCDUFFIE	3728	1892	50.8	1831	49.1	61	16	26.2	45	73.8	16.4	8.5	24.6
MCINTOSH	1540	723	46.9	815	52.9	29	15	51.7	14	48.3	18.8	--	--
MERIWETHER	4044	1674	41.4	2367	58.5	68	24	35.3	44	64.7	16.8	14.3	18.6
MILLER	1315	713	54.2	602	45.8	17	7	41.2	10	58.8	12.9	--	--
MITCHELL	4747	1765	37.2	2972	62.6	91	15	16.5	76	83.5	19.2	8.5	25.6
MONROE	2456	1420	57.8	1031	42.0	32	10	31.3	22	68.8	13.0	7.0	21.3
MONTGOMERY	1154	721	62.5	433	37.5	16	8	50.0	8	50.0	13.9	--	--
MORGAN	2311	1267	54.8	1039	45.0	31	10	32.3	21	67.7	13.4	7.9	20.2
MURRAY	3776	3759	99.5	10	0.3	45	45	100.0	0	0.0	11.9	12.0	--
* MUSCOGEE	35813	20383	56.9	15065	42.1	595	262	44.0	332	55.8	16.6	12.9	22.0
* NEWTON	7263	5037	69.4	2213	30.5	95	45	47.4	50	52.6	13.1	8.9	22.6
* OCONEE	2331	2052	88.0	274	11.8	18	11	61.1	7	38.9	7.7	5.4	--
OGLETHORPE	1489	891	59.8	597	40.1	26	9	34.6	17	65.4	17.5	--	--
* PAULDING	5426	5118	94.3	295	5.4	65	61	93.8	4	6.2	12.0	11.9	--
* PEACH	3796	1534	40.4	2256	59.4	63	22	34.9	41	65.1	16.6	14.3	18.2
PICKENS	2095	2047	97.7	43	2.1	28	28	100.0	0	0.0	13.4	13.7	--
PIERCE	2218	1823	82.2	394	17.8	37	21	56.8	16	43.2	16.7	11.5	--
PIKE	1563	1052	67.3	507	32.4	26	10	38.5	16	61.5	16.6	9.5	--
POLK	5798	4644	80.1	1136	19.6	79	62	78.5	17	21.5	13.6	13.4	15.0
PULASKI	1489	819	55.0	668	44.9	18	3	16.7	15	83.3	12.1	--	--
PUTNAM	2115	1039	49.1	1074	50.8	33	12	36.4	21	63.6	15.6	11.5	19.6
QUITMAN	441	126	28.6	314	71.2	11	2	18.2	9	81.8	--	--	--
RABUN	1549	1538	99.3	6	0.4	15	15	100.0	0	0.0	9.7	9.8	--
RANDOLPH	1778	524	29.5	1251	70.4	45	6	13.3	39	86.7	25.3	--	31.2
* RICHMOND	38398	20102	52.4	17716	46.1	519	211	40.7	302	58.2	13.5	10.5	17.0
* ROCKDALE	6853	5960	87.0	851	12.4	86	74	86.0	12	14.0	12.5	12.4	--
SCHLEY	592	323	54.6	269	45.4	8	2	25.0	6	75.0	--	--	--
SCREVEN	2802	1184	42.3	1609	57.4	45	9	20.0	35	77.8	16.1	7.6	21.8
SEMINOLE	1637	826	50.5	808	49.4	29	10	34.5	19	65.5	17.7	--	--
* SPALDING	8948	5507	61.5	3410	38.1	132	52	39.4	79	59.8	14.8	9.4	23.2
STEPHENS	3757	3159	84.1	579	15.4	48	38	79.2	10	20.8	12.8	12.0	--
STEWART	1053	278	26.4	773	73.4	30	6	20.0	24	80.0	28.5	--	--
SUMTER	6223	2638	42.4	3568	57.3	108	33	30.6	75	69.4	17.4	12.5	21.0
TALBOT	1057	293	27.7	764	72.3	15	4	26.7	11	73.3	14.2	--	--
TALIAFERRO	409	110	26.9	298	72.9	8	1	12.5	7	87.5	--	--	--
TATTNALL	3464	2154	62.2	1297	37.4	50	26	52.0	24	48.0	14.4	12.1	18.5
TAYLOR	1405	593	42.2	810	57.7	30	4	13.3	26	86.7	21.4	--	--
TELFAIR	2518	1454	57.7	1062	42.2	42	22	52.4	20	47.6	16.7	15.1	18.8
TERRELL	2519	658	26.1	1858	73.8	67	4	6.0	63	94.0	26.6	--	33.9
THOMAS	8106	4142	51.1	3953	48.8	158	53	33.5	105	66.5	19.5	12.8	26.6
TIFT	7024	4467	63.6	2528	36.0	97	46	47.4	51	52.6	13.8	10.3	20.2
TOOMBS	4767	3152	66.1	1601	33.6	65	31	47.7	34	52.3	13.6	9.8	21.2
TOWNS	689	688	99.9	0	0.0	16	16	100.0	0	0.0	--	--	--
TREUTLEN	1158	648	56.0	508	43.9	15	5	33.3	10	66.7	13.0	--	--
TROUP	9902	6061	61.2	3803	38.4	122	58	47.5	64	52.5	12.3	9.6	16.8
TURNER	2142	903	42.2	1239	57.8	39	5	12.8	34	87.2	18.2	--	27.4
TWIGGS	1890	831	44.0	1057	55.9	31	9	29.0	22	71.0	16.4	--	20.8
UNION	1374	1370	99.7	0	0.0	26	25	96.2	1	3.8	18.9	18.2	--
UPSON	4187	2693	64.3	1481	35.4	76	30	39.5	46	60.5	18.2	11.1	31.1
* WALKER	9813	9354	95.3	447	4.6	120	112	93.3	8	6.7	12.2	12.0	--
* WALTON	6295	4464	70.9	1821	28.9	112	63	56.3	49	43.8	17.8	14.1	26.9
WARE	7310	5018	68.6	2256	30.9	109	58	53.2	50	45.9	14.9	11.6	22.2
WARREN	1250	287	23.0	963	77.0	26	3	11.5	23	88.5	20.8	--	--
WASHINGTON	3766	1459	38.7	2302	61.1	67	12	17.9	55	82.1	17.8	8.2	23.9
WAYNE	4320	3044	70.5	1266	29.3	63	37	58.7	26	41.3	14.6	12.2	20.5
WEBSTER	408	168	41.2	240	58.8	6	1	16.7	5	83.3	--	--	--
WHEELER	896	552	61.6	343	38.3	8	6	75.0	2	25.0	--	--	--
WHITE	1672	1591	95.2	78	4.7	25	23	92.0	2	8.0	15.0	14.5	--
WHITFIELD	12599	12061	95.7	512	4.1	134	122	91.0	11	8.2	10.6	10.1	--
WILCOX	1363	773	56.7	589	43.2	12	3	25.0	9	75.0	8.8	--	--
WILKES	1973	871	44.1	1098	55.7	30	8	26.7	22	73.3	15.2	--	20.0
WILKINSON	2076	930	44.8	1146	55.2	20	9	45.0	11	55.0	9.6	--	9.6
WORTH	3712	2008	54.1	1702	45.9	62	18	29.0	44	71.0	16.7	9.0	25.9
OTHER/MILITARY	6485	3857	59.5	2451	37.8	67	36	53.7	31	46.3	10.3	9.3	12.6
GEORGIA	1087393	694273	63.8	384951	35.4	15402	7409	48.1	7941	51.6	14.2	10.7	20.6

* Metropolitan County

-- Too few births to compute a statistically reliable rate

ISSUES FACING GEORGIA

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C. Wayne Jordan, Director

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